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The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Commissioned this study by the Canadian Welfare Council to examine child care programs in residential schools relative to their effect on the adaptation (present and projected) and adjustment of Indian students. Specific research variables were: (1) the institution, which was subdivided into factors of physical conditions, methods of discipline, program, and administration; (2) adaptation, with regard to the dominant culture and the reservation Indian culture; and (3) adjustment, measured in terms of attitudes and aspirations. The sample was selected from Indian children in grades 5 to 12 in the 9 residential schools in Saskatchewan. It was found that (1) admission procedures throughout the schools were far from standardized, (2) the personal adjustment of the Indian children was below normal, (3) the schools uniformly failed to meet the individual needs of the students, (4) the schools have become isolated from the reservations they serve, (5) there existed no systematic evaluation of the over-all program of the residential schools, and (6) there was a definite need for a manual of personnel policies and practices. Extensive recommendations are included. (JM)

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N.F.B. PHOTOS

Indian Residential Schools

A RESEARCH STUDY OF THE CHILD CARE PROGRAMS OF NINE RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS IN SASKATCHEWAN

RC003235

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
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INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

A research study of the child care programs
of nine residential schools in Saskatchewan

Prepared for:

Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development
Government of Canada
Ottawa

Project Director: George Caldwell, M.S.W.

The Canadian Welfare Council
55 Parkdale Avenue
Ottawa 3, Ontario

January 31, 1967

Price: $2.75

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This report of Indian residential schools resulted from the concern of the Department of Indian Affairs and the Churches as to the present program and future role of this resource. The funds for the study were made available to the Canadian Welfare Council by the Department of Indian Affairs. When the request was received, Reuben C. Baetz, Executive Director of the Council, and the National Committee of the Family and Child Welfare Division authorized that it be given top priority in the 1966-67 program year.

Many persons participated in the study and without their excellent cooperation, the project director's task would have been frustrating and the study seriously delayed. To have accomplished the work involved in nine months is a strong indication of the generous cooperation and help received. For the Indian children who participated in the study, and were enthusiastic and interested in helping the staff gather the data, a very special affection developed. The principals and staff of the residential schools received us warmly and shared openly the problems and rewards of their work. The staff of the Education Services, Indian Affairs Branch, and the Director, R. F. Davey, consulted with the project staff, made information available and shared their rich experience in the residential school administration. The help of Reverend F. Guy Voisin, O.M.I., Executive Secretary, Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission of the Oblate Fathers and Canon Trevor E. Jones, Director, Residential

Schools and Hostels Division, Anglican Church of Canada, with whom the project director consulted on numerous occasions to clarify the position of the Churches, is sincerely acknowledged.

Special thanks are due to my colleagues at the Canadian Welfare Council — David Woodsworth, formerly Director of Research and now Director of the McGill School of Social Work, who acted as Research Consultant to the study, and Mrs. Suzanne Findlay, Research Assistant, who supervised the analysis of the data and prepared the reports on the Childrens' Questionnaire, California Test of Personality, and the analysis of the data on the graduates. The work of the field staff — Miss Eileen MacLeod, Miss Carol Storey, Miss Anita Thelander and Michael Bennett, was appreciated. They brought a deep concern, enthusiasm and interest in Indian children to their task.

Because of the nature of the project and its large human interest content, there has been widespread discussion on the part of many about the study and its results. The spontaneous offers of help and the fact that everyone seems to have a very definite viewpoint on what should be done added a special dimension of interest to the study.

Finally to Mrs. Lee Fisher, my secretary, who had the task of preparing the report through its various draft phases to completion, and to Mrs. Doris French, Director of Editorial Services, the Canadian Welfare Council, who prepared and edited the final report, my very special thanks.

George Caldwell

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INTRODUCTION

A centennial year is an excellent occasion for taking stock of our accomplishments of the past and developing new forward thrusts to meet old problems. It is most appropriate therefore that the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development should have commissioned a study of our native Canadian children who are served in residential schools, in time for a report early in 1967.

The Canadian Welfare Council was invited by the Department to undertake this study and agreed to do so. The Council is the national voluntary social planning body in Canada and has a forty-seven year history of leadership and service in the welfare field.

In the history of Canada, the interaction between the native population and the explorers and settlers who came from across the seas is a fascinating and at times a disturbing story. The dependency of the new race on the old for survival has turned full cycle to the present when the old race is a disadvantaged minority dependent on the new.

The story of this report deals with one part of the services established by the new race to help the old. The central characters are Canadian Indian children.

The discussion concerns the effect on them of residential schools established for their education.

The history of the missionaries who went forth to preach and teach to the Canadian Indian nations is a stirring account of dedication and self sacrifice under conditions of severe hardship, not the least of which was the cold and isolation of the Canadian winter.

The development of the responsibility of the federal government and the establishment of a branch devoted to the interest and concern of Indian people is a further area rich in historical importance. It is of particular interest to record that legislation prior to 1867 laid the basis for the development of provincial responsibility in areas such as Indian education. However, immediately after Confederation, in 1868, a series of acts were passed that established the framework for a federal Indian Affairs Administration.1) One hundred years later the parliament of Canada has enacted the Canada Assistance Act which contains specific provisions to enable the provinces to develop services to Indians.

Residential schools are regarded, depending on the point of view, as mission centres or education centres, or child welfare centres.

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1) R. F. Davey - The Establishment and Growth of Indian School Administration - 'The Canadian Superintendent' 1965.

To a degree they are all three and herein lies much of the current controversy over their rôles. It is from this multi-centred approach that future solutions must emerge. There is perhaps no other area of Canadian life in which the Church and State come so directly into contact as in the residential school field. Ten thousand children are served by sixty-six residential schools, owned almost entirely by the federal government but managed by the Churches. (There are two or three schools which are still owned by the Churches).

As late as 1940, one half of the Indian pupil population, approximately 9,000 students, were in residential schools. In 1963-64 only 18.5% of the Indian pupil population were in residential schools but there were 10,310 students. In less than 25 years then the Indian pupil population has trebled. This reflects the dramatic increase in the Canadian Indian population and explains why new approaches to meet the education needs of the children have had to be developed.

The policy which has developed has been one of integration: integration of the Indian child into the educational system of the province. In many areas and particularly in parts of Saskatchewan the word integration has become an emotionally charged word.

Fortunately the differences over the issue are not in principle but in the method and speed with which it can occur. There has been tension between the Churches and the Indian Affairs Branch on this issue. However, a recent announcement by the Oblate Indian - Eskimo Commission of its endorsement, under certain conditions, of an integration policy whereby Indian students would be educated in provincial schools, separate or public, should go far to resolve the issue.

Finally, as the conclusions and recommendations clearly indicate, it is impossible to deal effectively with an isolated part of the structure. What occurs in the residential school must be related to what has gone on before in the lives of children in their own homes and must be sensitive to the special needs of the Indian child as he grows and develops into an adult Indian in Canadian society.

CHAPTER I

DESIGN AND METHOD

The aim of the study was defined broadly as the examination of the residential schools relative to their effect on the adaptation (present and projected) and adjustment of the Indian student. It remained to specify the components within the general definition and to operationalize these through the design of questionnaires and data collection sheets.

1. Specification of the Research Variables

A. The Institution: was defined as the independent variable for the nature of its impact on the children. The concept 'institution' was thus factored into areas of investigation such as physical conditions, methods of discipline, program (educational and social) and administration which would have a daily and direct bearing on the children's behaviour and attitudes. Admission requirements and procedures were included as relevant to the present relationship between school and children.

B. Adaptation: was defined in terms of educational and occupational aspirations and attitudes which could be characterized as adaptation to the values of the majority culture or lack of adaptation to these values.

An attempt to add credibility to this analysis of adaptation was made by incorporating a study of graduates of the residential school system over the past five years. The present adaptation of these graduates would be compared to the adaptation of the residential students to provide some insight into the possible long-range effects of the institutions on their students.

The design and sample for the graduates will be discussed in Chapter VII.

C. Adjustment: was defined in terms of the personality adjustment of the children relative to their attitudes and aspirations; and also in terms of a more general social adjustment or adaptation level compared to that of the majority culture.

To specify the factors involved in the adaptation and adjustment of the Indian children, it was decided to employ a personality test. These highly systematized but easily administered tests are valuable as instruments capable of revealing psychological factors or tendencies difficult to elicit except through intensive and prolonged interviewing. It is acknowledged that the cross-cultural application of psychological tests has had unpredictable results at best, but it was nevertheless felt that a personality test could contribute to our main research question concerning the level of adaptation of the Indian students relative to the white population. (The test norms reflect the values of the dominant culture.)

Our focus is of course on the total group score as opposed to the customary use of individual scores which allows a greater margin of error within the test results. This in itself provides some justification for the use and reliability of such tests.

2. Design and Selection of Instruments*

Because time limitations had been necessarily imposed on the study, there were certain prior restrictions concerning the alternative instruments available. A longitudinal study based on more intensive interviews with both the children and their families and the school personnel might have been more effective in investigating the effect of the residential schools on the students, but the questionnaire form was adopted with the compensating factor of a more comprehensive sampling of the immediate problems existing for these institutions and their students.

A. The Analytic Outline for the School: was a conceptual framework designed to systematize the observations of the project director and interviews with school personnel related to the factors selected as important for the analysis of the schools.

B. The Children's Questionnaire: operationalized the variables related to personal and family background aspirations and attitudes. The questions about educational aspirations included the students' intentions to finish high school, supplemented by a question offering different levels of educational aspirations and one asking the children to evaluate their fathers' educational level relative to their own needs. Occupational aspirations and attitudes were specified through questions about the type of job desired, the students' expectations about the possibilities for realizing this choice, the nature of the factors determining success or failure in their chosen occupation, the desired location of their future job and the people they would like to work with. These questions, with others, were carefully conceptualized and worded to provide a composite picture of the Indian children's values in relation to the expected values of the majority culture.

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* See Appendix for examples of the instruments used.

Limitations of the Questionnaire

It was necessary to limit the questionnaire to students in Grade 5 and above, if the self-administered questionnaire was to be used. Even at the Grade 5 and 6 level the reliability of the answers is questionable. However, the younger students would have provided additional insight into the initial adaptation of the Indian child to the residential school.

As has been noted, the questionnaire form itself has limitations as a method of exploring the complexities of aspirations and attitudes, and particularly those of Indian children. In the Lebret school a group discussion was held with the older students which provided information on a different level on the outlook, anxieties, aspirations and general attitudes of the students.

During the initial testing, it became apparent that some of the questions were not appropriately worded for the Indian children and the staff were required to give verbal clarification on some questions which resulted in inconsistent interpretation.

C. The Children's Data Sheet: was basically designed to record from the office records data on family background, admission status, health and behavioural problems; however, it became apparent that in the majority of cases, the school records did not provide this type of data. A part of the original data sheet concerned with family background was subsequently added to the questionnaire form. The investigation of health and behaviour problems became largely impressionistic for the school as a whole, rather than being recorded for each individual child. As well, the admission forms were available only for those children living in the residential school - making it impossible to define the reasons for attendance of the Day students attending the school. The reason most often quoted for Day students attending was that there was no other school available for them.

D. The California Test of Personality: was selected from among several possible tests because of its relevance to our particular needs. The content areas of the test, with its balance between personal and social adjustment, focussed on precisely the characteristics that are most important in probing the attitudes and behaviour of a culturally disadvantaged group from a welfare perspective.

The examination of 'self-reliance', 'sense of personal worth', 'sense of personal freedom', 'feeling of belonging', 'withdrawing tendencies' and 'nervous symptoms' are all areas appropriate to the study of children with the double burden of cultural traditions and behavioural tendencies inconsistent with success in the 'white culture', and family instability and subsequent personal disruptions. The section on social adjustment contributes both to the picture of total personality adjustment and to our awareness of the functioning of these children in the social units to which they belong (family, school, community). It was felt that such a personality test could supplement, amplify and aid in the interpretation of the main body of data collected through the children's questionnaire.

The California Test is also valuable because it is the only test of this kind to be adapted to several grade ranges. It was possible to choose a test (The Elementary Test) to match our sample of children drawn primarily from Grades 5 to 8.

Finally, the test is noted for its high operational validity. For example, although one cannot with any certainty state that the section on 'withdrawing tendencies' is actually measuring this phenomenon, the score for this item will correlate with other variables in the anticipated way for withdrawing tendencies. The questions have been extensively tested on many samples, including the culturally disadvantaged (Mexicans) and have been subsequently revised.

The authors now can state that for the statistical treatment of experimental data there is no variation shown for the median scores within grades except for a slight tendency for females to score higher than males.

Limitations

The group focus of the study made it possible for us to absorb such limitations, which might have had a critical importance for the study of individuals from different cultures.

As mentioned above, limitations could pertain only to the applicability of the test to the Indian culture.

E. Other Sources of Information

a) Interviews with school personnel. To complete the administrative analysis of the Residential Schools, the primary source of information was the principal. The project director spent over one hundred hours in direct interviewing with the principals. Other staff were interviewed during tours of the physical plant and in obtaining specific information on the children. A questionnaire was developed and circulated to all staff to obtain basic data on type of employment, hours of work, age, length of service, education and age.

The other staff members of the research team reported regularly on their contacts in the residential school and, in particular, discussions with staff members.

Prior to the field work the project director had met with all the principals on two previous occasions and seven of the principals at a third meeting. Basic data on the administration of the institutions was prepared by each principal in January of 1966, which proved extremely valuable in preparing for the study. Following the field work phase, the project director participated in the Staff Training Course in Prince Albert for 150 staff members of residential schools.

b) Observations of the Principal Investigator. The major comment of the project director in respect to the design and method of the study must relate to the absence of recorded data about the child, his background and behaviour in the residential school. This lack of data forced the team to use the child as the major source of information about himself and his background.

The other observation that should be made is in respect to timing of the study. The principals apparently had reached a stage in their own thinking in respect to the rôle of the residential schools, where they welcomed the study and participated fully in it. There was no resistance to full disclosure on their part in respect to any part of the operation. This made the work of the project director immensely easier and allowed for the frankness necessary in discussing the issues raised.

3. The Sample

A purposive sample of Indian children was selected from those in the nine residential schools in Saskatchewan. The selection was made by grade from the 1966 class lists for the schools supplied by Indian Affairs. The criteria for the sample were a 20% representation of all the residential students, a representative distribution of grades from 5 to 12 which would allow for comparisons within and between grades of the three main pupil types - (a) Residential for living and schooling - (b) Integrated for schooling and Residential for daily living - (c) Day - children living at home and attending residential for schooling.

The students under Grade 5 were excluded on the basis of age and relative ability to participate in the self-administered tests.

Sample of Children by Residential School, Grade and Pupil Type - Table 1

Residential School	Grade	Res.	Int.	Day	Total	School Total
Kamsack	VI	11		5	16	
	VIII	11		4	15	31
Onion Lake	VI	11		14	25	
	VIII	8		2	10	35
Prince Albert	V	15	22		37	
	IX	0	16		16	
	X	0	5		5	58
Punnichy	V	19	7	1	27	
	VII	4	8	1	13	40
Beauval	VII	13			13	
	VIII	7			7	20
Lebret	VIII	17			17	
	XI	17			17	
	XII		10		10	44
Lestock	VI	19		3	22	
	VII	11		9	20	
	VIII	1		1	2	44
Duck Lake	VI	25			25	
	VIII		7		7	32
Marieval	V	12		14	26	
	VII	5		11	16	
	VIII	3		5	8	50
TOTAL		209	75	70	354	354

Although the grade was the basic selection unit for the sample and the distribution by sex necessarily random, the table below demonstrates the closer relationship between this purposive sample and the total universe of residential school students.

The Sample by Sex and Pupil Type
Compared to the Universe - Table 2

	Res.	Integ.	Day	Total Sample	Total in Universe
Male	96	45	35	176	1095
Female	113	30	35	178	1042
TOTAL	209	75	70	354	
Pupil Types in the Universe	1341	271	525		2137

Limitations

The total figure in the original sample provided for 413 students to be included. During the actual field work, this total number was reduced to 354, due mainly to sickness and drop-outs; but in spite of the loss of 59 students, the sample remained representative by pupil type of the total Indian residential school population by grades and by schools. This reduction in number did have a limited effect on the potential value of some conclusions drawn from the sub-group analysis by combinations of age, sex and pupil type.

All three categories of children were included in the sample. In considering the effect of the schools on the children's adjustment, it would have been desirable to include young children in the sample. However, there was a practical problem of communication. Very young children are unlikely to respond well to the methods of data collection used and more sensitive tests were not practicable. Therefore, it was decided to take children only from Grade 5 and up, who would be able to take group paper-and-pencil tests.

Children from Grades 5 to 12 in the nine schools who fell into one of the three categories listed above were included. Rather than attempt a random sample of children it was decided, for reasons of administrative convenience, to take a purposive sample of classes and schools that would include children in all three categories. Of 1612 children in the nine schools, approximately 354 children were included in the sample by taking a minimum of two grades from each school in staggered order.

This did have the result of the over-representation of the older student which could provide a more positive and less realistic picture of adaptation and adjustment.

4. The Collection of the Data

A. The Field Staff. The research team for the field work was composed of four university students selected from some two hundred applications to a parallel Council study on 'Indians and The Law'. Two of the team, Miss Anita Thelander and Mr. Michael Bennett were graduate social work students at the McGill School of Social Work, Montreal; each had rich background experience in Saskatchewan. The other two students, Miss Eileen MacLeod and Miss Carol Storey were 1966 graduates at the University of Saskatchewan, Saskatoon. Miss MacLeod majored in Anthropology and Miss Storey in Psychology.

B. The Training and 'Pre-Test'. The project director assisted by Mr. David Woodsworth and Mrs. Suzanne Findlay conducted a training session for the project staff in Regina before the actual field work began. All seven participated in the Punnichy School Study to test out the appropriateness of the research instruments. Following the Punnichy School experience, minor adjustments were made in the test instruments and agreement was reached on the most useful procedures to follow in administering the tests and collecting data in the schools.

C. Field Work. The project director took responsibility for the collection of data for the analysis of the institutional factors, distribution of the staff questionnaire and general overseeing of the study.

Mr. Bennett acted as supervisor for the testing program with the children and the collection of data from the files. The other three staff members assisted in the test supervision and collection of data from the child's records. Miss Thelander in addition compiled a list of recent graduates of each residential school in preparation for her study of the five-year graduates of the residential school system.

Appointments to visit each of the nine schools had been set up and a rigid time schedule agreed upon. The timing of the study had to take into account a two-month period when the children would be in residence and graduate students from the universities available to staff the project. These two factors, plus the road conditions for travel in Saskatchewan, made the May-June period the logical and in fact, the only period in the year when the study could have been conducted.

With one exception, because of a track meet scheduled for one of the study days, the timing and arrangements worked according to plan with the full co-operation of the school personnel and students.

CHAPTER II

THE CHILDREN'S QUESTIONNAIRE

The purpose of the questionnaire was to provide information on the immediate attitudes and behaviour of the 354 children representing the residential school system. Personal characteristics were also asked for and although it had been originally planned to obtain data on family background from the school records, this was also gathered through the children's responses.

The information was then systematically assigned to code categories and tabulated by computer at the University of Ottawa.

Although the preliminary analysis began with variables representing all the questions answered by the children, several of these variables were discarded for analytic purposes after close observation of the distribution. In some cases, the purpose behind the question was best achieved through another question, in others the responses were too concentrated to provide any explanatory value. Still others were discarded because the question seemed to have no meaning for the children (high percentage of "don't knows").*

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* A pre-test would have eliminated some of these problems.

It had been hoped to see these variables related to the length of the children's stay at the residential school, but our sample (beginning with Gr. 5) and the inadequate records did not provide enough variation along this variable. Most children appeared to have been in the school well over 2 years.

In the final analysis, selected variables were felt to be essential - covering the areas of aspirations and attitudes toward education and occupation.

The following tables describe these remaining variables and their distribution by and relationship to age, sex and pupil type.

Total Sample by Age, Sex and Pupil Type - Table 3

	Male				Female		
	14+	Under 14			14+	Under 14	
Res.	66	30	96	Res.	65	48	113
Integ.	30	15	45	Integ.	17	13	30
Day	19	16	35	Day	20	15	35
	115	61	176		102	76	178

1. Family Background

A. Educational Level of Parents: more than 2/3 of the parents (67.8% or 441 parents) of the children in the sample had Grade 8 education or less.

B. School Type of Parents:

Total Sample by School Type of Parents - Table 4

School Type	Number of Parents No.	%
Residential School	344	48.6
Integrated School	88	12.5
Indian Day School	113	15.9
Don't Know or Not Applicable	163	23.0
	708	100.0

The tradition of parents who attended residential school themselves having their children attend appears to be supported by this finding on the school type of parents. When this finding is related to the reason for admission of the children being predominantly for child welfare causes, some serious questions arise as to the impact of the residential school program on former pupils who are now parents, and the inadequacy of their home life.

The question must be raised as to whether there has developed a pattern of expectation on the part of some Indian parents that the residential school system provides a cheap and to them a carefree way of abrogating their responsibility as parents.

It also raises questions concerning the current generation of residential students and their ability to cope more adequately with the responsibilities of parenthood than the preceding generation. Does dependency on the residential school system, on the part of some Indian parents, emerge from a study of this factor?

If the answer is positive then dependency will require a wide range of family support services which are lacking in the Indian communities of Saskatchewan.

C. Father's Occupational Level:

Total Sample by Occupation of Father - Table 5

Occupation	No.	%
Unemployed	14	3.9
Unskilled	184	51.8
Semi-skilled	25	7.1
Service	3	.8
Professional	4	1.1
Don't Know or Not Applicable	124	35.1
	354	100.0

In this table the children who didn't know what their fathers did or those who had no fathers are included because it was regarded as significant that they represented more than one third of the group. The four professional fathers are teachers in the residential school. The high representation (198 out of 230 replies) where the father's occupation was stated are in the unskilled and unemployed group. The vast majority of the mothers are not gainfully employed but are at home. This occupational picture supports the recent studies of the economically disadvantaged status of the Indian people.

The very high number of replies where the children do not know their fathers' occupation illustrates a lack of knowledge by the pupils of their family life and perhaps the relative lack of effective parental/child interaction.

D. Children's Perception of Parental Support for High School Graduation:

Total Sample by Parental Attitude to High School - Table 6

	No.	%
1. strongly urge you to continue	146	41.1
2. some encouragement	102	28.7
3. never say much	29	8.2
4. go to work when 16	12	3.4
5. quit school before 16	2	.6
6. don't know	63	18.1
	354	100.0

The children's perception of parents support is quite strong in comparison to their knowledge of either their parents' education or occupation. The replies indicate that 69.8 (248) of the students feel that their parents "strongly urge" or give "some encouragement" to their completing high school. Again 59.7% (212) of the students would be most concerned with their parents feelings if they "received a bad report".

E. Children's Desire for Parents' Visits (No Day students included):

Residential Students, Desire for Parents' Visits - Table 7

	No.	%
much more	149	58.6
a little more	24	9.4
no more	78	30.7
never	3	1.2
	254	100.0

Among the residential and integrated students, 68.1% (173) state that they desire "much more" or "a little more" interaction with their parents. These responses together appear to indicate the important place the family holds for the pupil. But it must be acknowledged that these questions were presented with prepared categories to be checked off by the students and the possibility exists that in their responses the children were anticipating a correct or desired answer.

There is little or no mention in other open-ended questions of concern for parental support or the effect of parental background as significant in their present or future plans.

SUMMARY

Two indications:

1. a lack of concrete knowledge of parents' education and occupation
2. an expressed desire for more interaction with parents -

suggest very strongly that there is much work to be done to aid and assist Indian parents towards a deeper investment in programs designed to care for their children.

2. Children's Aspirations

A. Educational Aspirations by Pupil Type:

Selected Sample, Educational Aspirations - Table 8

Aspirations	Residential No.	Residential %	Integrated No.	Integrated %	Day No.	Day %	Total
Complete Grade 8 or quit at age 16	18	13.9	2	4.3	5	12.8	25
Complete High School	25	19.3	11	23.4	11	28.2	47
Attend College or obtain extra job training	86	66.7	34	72.3	23	60.0	143
	129	100.0	47	100.0	39	100.0	215

From the table it can be seen that there is a trend or pattern in each pupil-type category towards high aspirations. While the table describes the distinction of aspirations by pupil type,one cannot infer a significant relationship between aspirations and pupil type from this table. Because the integrated students are selected in some schools on the basis of their academic achievement (e.g. Grade 12 in Lebret) and their social ability, it might have been expected that there would be very significant variations in the high aspirations between the three pupil types. However, the Prince Albert School with the largest concentration of integrated students sends all its pupils above the Grade 5 level to integrated classes. The striking factor is then the high aspirational level of all the students, including the residential and day pupils (86% and 88%) if one accepts completion of high school as indicative of high aspirations. There were no significant differences in educational aspiration explained by age or sex.

It is useful to relate the educational aspirations of the children with an evaluation by them of their fathers' education. The responses to this rendered a real distinction between evaluation of fathers' education and the educational aspirations expressed by the children.

B. Occupational Aspiration of Pupils by Sex:

Selected Sample*, Occupational Aspirations - Table 9

Occupation	Male No.	Male %	Female No.	Female %	Total
Unskilled	22	22.4	5	5.4	27
Semi-skilled	25	25.5	4	4.4	29
Service	26	26.5	23	25.2	49
Professional	25	25.5	59	64.8	84
	98	100.0	91	100.0	189

On the whole, the table shows a trend toward higher occupations than the occupations presently filled by their parents, - 27 pupils choosing unskilled categories, up to 84 pupils choosing professional job levels of aspiration. There is a significant relationship between sex and occupational aspiration, the females having a distinct pattern of high aspirations towards the professional category. It is useful to note that although the Indian unskilled occupational category (trapper, fisherman) appears to be a male phenomenon, a breakdown by pupil type indicates that no integrated male student selected this type of occupation.

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* The 189 pupils in this table excludes the young students - 13 years and under 13 years. The scatter in their replies showed no consistent pattern.

The female unskilled represent those girls who selected marriage on completion of their schooling. Other than the comment on integrated students, neither pupil type nor sex renders any significant explanatory value.

C. Evaluation of Father's Education by the Students:

Selected Sample,
Evaluation of Father's Education - Table 10

Question	No.	%
Father has more education than I need	88	27.2
Father has the same education as I need	63	19.5
Father has less education than I need	172	53.3
	323	100.0

In the descriptive information under family background, it was pointed out that 67.8% of the parents had Grade 8 education or less, and from the total on children's aspirations, a very high educational aspiration of the children was recorded, so that it would have been expected that analysis of the data on the evaluation of the fathers' education would indicate that the children felt it to be inadequate. However, only 53.3% of the students felt that their fathers had less education than they needed.

To compare the sets of data in another way, only 2.3% of the students reported that their fathers had completed high school, yet in educational aspirations of completing high school or better, 86% of the residential students, 95.7% of the integrated students and 88.2% of the day students expressed a positive aspiration, therefore approximately 90% of the students should have reported fathers education as "less than I need" when in fact only 53.3% did so.

Several observations may be helpful. Either the educational aspirations of the children are too high to be reliable or the children may have misunderstood the question or both. There is an additional possibility that when answering the question about their own education aspirations, they were expressing a free choice; but that because the evaluation of the fathers' educational level is a value-laden situation the children may have reacted emotionally to a judgement that their fathers' education was less than adequate. Another possibility unique to the residential students is the effect of the separation from their homes and fathers, seen in a tendency on the part of children removed from the home to idealize circumstances and surroundings in the home. It is also possible to speculate that a traditional 'face-saving' mechanism may explain the children's high evaluation of the adequacy of the fathers' education. The cultural instinct of the Indians is to avoid the embarrassment of those close to them, thus to report fathers' education as inadequate might have been interpreted by the children in this way.

D. Achievement Expectations of the Children:

Questions were posed for the children about reasons as to why they expected or did not expect to achieve the ideal job which they had selected: "Do you think this is ever likely to happen? Yes: ___ No: ___ Why? ___."

Reasons for Negative Expectations of Achievement of Ideal Job - Table 11

Factors	No.	%
Lack of self-confidence	31	40.3
Lack of education	26	33.7
Lack of opportunities	11	14.3
Lack of parental support	4	5.2
Discrimination	1	1.2
Others	4	5.2
	77	100.0

The reasons given by those children who did expect to achieve their ideal job were almost identically distributed among the possible categories listed in the above table on reasons given by those who had negative expectations.

The 302 children whose replies could be analysed showed 225 who expected to achieve their ideal job and 77 who did not expect to do so. Of interest is the relatively small importance attached to parental support as to whether they succeed or not. It is also interesting that only one student identified discrimination as a factor in not achieving the ideal job. When one considers the emphasis on education, it is worth observing that the students did not place this at the top of the list in reasons for achieving or not achieving their occupational goal.

E. Comparison of Expectations by Sex: A comparison of the older students by sex reveals the following:

Occupational Expectation of
Older Students - Table 12

	Males		Females		
	No.	%	No.	%	
Positive	86	76.8	69	68.3	155
Negative	26	23.2	32	31.7	58
	112	100.0	101	100.0	213

Earlier it was found that females had significantly higher occupational aspirations than the males. It is therefore interesting that the females' positive expectations for the future are slightly lower than the males.

CONCLUSION

Both educational and occupational aspirations of the pupils are high. But this high aspiration level can be modified by two findings, - the children's evaluation of their fathers' educational level in relation to their own educational needs and the older females' expectations of achievement.

3. Children's Attitudes

The first table deals with the children's attitude about work, "the important things about working". (The young students have been excluded from this and following tables related to work.)

A. "Important Things about Working": A comparison by sex shows the following:

Reasons for Working - Table 13

	Males		Females		
	No.	%	No.	%	Total
Making money or making a living	76	63.1	47	48.9	123
Doing something useful	18	16.2	24	25.0	42
Keeping busy	3	2.7	6	6.3	9
Being with others	14	12.6	19	19.8	33
	111	100.0	96	100.0	207

The males appear to have a tendency to be more pragmatic in their concern for making a living. The very practical response of more than 50% of the pupils in their attitude towards "the most important things about working" may merely reflect the low economic status of their families. It is a luxury even for the idealistic teen-ager to consider altruistic motives when economic want is so evident.

B. Attitudes of Pupils towards Job Location:

Pupil Attitude toward Job Location - Table 14

	No.	%
On or near reserve	23	10.6
In large town or city	125	57.8
Wherever it is easiest	68	31.5
	216	100.0

There were no differences that could be explained by sex, age or pupil type. The acceptance of the white community as the locus for employment demonstrates practical recognition of the limitation of career opportunities on the reserve as well as an attitudinal acceptance of adjusting to a white culture location. Urbanization is added to cultural difference as a tension for the child in the future.

In contrast to this attitude towards job location were the responses to determine where the children's friends live. Only 5.8% of all students reported that they have friends in town while the remainder replied that their friends live either at the residential school or on the reserve. When one compares their limited contact with people in the towns with their choice of a future job location it can be anticipated that children are going to experience difficulty in adjusting to the white culture.

C. Problems Indians have in Earning a Living: The attitudes of the children on 'problem Indians have in earning a living' reflect two types of general problems, the first problem resulting from the nature of the Indian culture and the second problem resulting from discrimination of the white culture. Significant differences were revealed between the attitudes of the younger students and the attitudes of the older students.

Problems Indians have in Earning a Living by Age - Table 15

Problems resulting from Indian culture	Older Pupils No.	Older Pupils %	Younger Pupils No.	Younger Pupils %	Total No.
a. Lack of education	73	38.8	25	22.1	98
b. Instability in work (lazy, shiftless)	13	6.9	5	4.4	18
c. Behaviour problems (drinking, fighting)	23	12.2	10	8.8	33
Discrimination of white culture					
a. Lack of jobs	33	17.6	38	33.6	71
b. Lack of adequate income	22	11.7	27	23.8	49
c. Discrimination	24	12.8	8	7.1	32
	188	100.0	113	100.0	301

The older students tend to emphasize the problems dependent on the Indian culture itself, approximately 58% responding to these questions as the important ones Indians face in earning a living. Approximately 65% of the younger students tend to define the major problems as those resulting from discrimination of the white culture. This could be understood as a reflection of the older students' greater sensitivity and concern to overcome problems they observe in adult Indians' efforts to earn a living. Being closer to the age of responsibility they appear to be responding to the individual problems they foresee for themselves in earning a living.

D. Attitude about School: The pupils were asked to state their biggest problem in school.

Biggest Problem for Student in School by Sex - Table 16

Problem	Male No.	Male %	Female No.	Female %	Total
Academic	57	38.5	51	34.0	108
Restrictions of System, Discipline, Teachers	46	31.1	39	26.0	85
Personal Inadequacy	11	7.4	9	6.0	20
Pupil Relations	19	12.8	35	23.3	54
Isolation from Reserve	4	2.7	7	4.6	11
No problems perceived	11	7.4	9	6.0	20
	148	100.0	150	100.0	298

While the boys appear to be more upset by the restrictions of the system (e.g. discipline and attitudes of teachers) there is no significant finding when analyzed by age, pupil type or sex. It is interesting that while the academic subjects are listed as the biggest problem and restrictions of the system come second, pupil relations are reported as the problem of 54 of the 298 students. Two factors are worth noting: first, the children in the residential school never escape from the pressure of the peer group.

Their activities are group oriented and hence if they are having a negative relationship with another pupil they are constantly forced together by the institutional routine. Second, the integrated student may be experiencing adjustment problems in a white-dominated classroom situation.

The children were asked what . . . "Things they would like to do more often?"

Pupils' Desired Activities - Table 17

	No.	%
More groups at school	115	37.6
More leisure	77	25.2
More educational opportunities	50	16.3
Mentions training for work	43	14.1
More involvement in white community	14	4.5
Satisfied	7	2.3
	306	100.0

The absence of organizations in the residential schools other than religious societies is reflected in the interest (37.6%) for more group activities. This answer is not inconsistent with the 25.2% who wanted more leisure or free time, as this reflects the routine scheduling of the institutional day. It is interesting that 30.4% of the 306 replies show an interest in educational and training opportunities.

The final table in this section deals with the students, attitudes towards . . . "What the residential school has taught you."

"What the Residential School has Taught You" (by Age) - Table 18

Analysis of Factors	Older No.	Older %	Younger No.	Younger %	Total No.	Total %
Education	69	35.7	45	39.8	114	37.3
Manners and skills	53	27.5	30	26.5	83	27.1
Character development	40	20.7	14	12.3	54	17.6
Preparation for work	26	13.4	20	17.6	46	15.0
Religion	3	1.5	3	2.7	6	1.9
General dissatisfaction	2	1.1	1	.8	3	.9
	193	100.0	113	100.0	306	100.0

All the children score education as the most important thing the residential schools have taught them. Manners and social skills rank next in importance and are a white cultural adaptation indicator. It may be inferred that the children feel more secure in respect to white culture as a result of the training in manners and social skills. The older students appear to place more importance on character training than the young. The surprising response is the extremely low importance attached to religion. Considering the nature of environment with its strong religious overtones, the children appear not to attach extraordinary significance to their religious training.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

In testing the questionnaire data against the three variables of age, sex and pupil type, the conclusion that must be reached is that neither pupil type or age appears to explain any variation and that sex is appreciable only in the case of occupational aspiration, and attitudes towards work.

The findings are so negative for the variables selected that the classic approach to the investigation and analysis of the adaptation pattern of Indian children is completely repudiated for further research. It remains to study the California Test of Personality in the next chapter to observe whether the findings of this test throw significant light on the adaptation question.

CHAPTER III

CALIFORNIA TEST OF PERSONALITY:

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

The California Test was used to explore another facet of the development and attitudes of the children in the Indian residential schools. Analytically[1] the test scores were used to investigate two things: the over-all adjustment level of the Indian children related to the norms established for this personality test; and the relationship between the children's adjustment level and specific factors selected as measures of adaptation.

To prepare the tests for analysis, the percentile ranks (potential range: 1-99%) for total adjustment were divided into three categories representing 'high' or well-adjusted (over 50%) 'medium' or average (20-50%) and 'low' or poorly-adjusted (10% and under).

	High (over 50%)	Medium (20-50%)	Low (10% and under)	Total
Number in each category	83	233	38	354
Percentage in each category	23.5	65.8	10.7	100.0

These divisions, somewhat arbitrarily appointed, separate the more extreme cases from the majority range in our sample. In some cases, the data suggests that a more appropriate analytic break would be at the 50% point: 50% and under the be 'low', over 50% would be 'high'.

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1) see Chapter 1, page 9 for a detailed account of the selection and use of the California Test

Certainly the scores under 50 can be described as 'low' if related to the norms set for the test, suggesting that the single break at 50% might provide a more legitimate portrayal of the adaptation of the Indian children to the white culture.

	High (over 50%)	Low (50% and Under)	Total
Number in each category	83	271	354
Percentage in each category	23.5	76.5	100.0

However, for the most accurate description of student adjustment within the schools, categories representing three degrees (high, medium and low) were selected as scores of adjustment and were then tabulated against selected information from the children's questionnaire and data sheet to determine the relationship between adjustment and adaptation only.

1. General Findings(1)

The adjustment level of the Indian children tested falls 10% to 20% below the norms established for the test. The consistency of this finding across grades* suggests that a disproportionate number of the Indian children in residential schools are deviants from the system of behaviour and attitudes supported in the white culture.

The possibility that the questions were merely misunderstood by the children only supports our generalization of their alienation from the concepts normally internalized by children in this grade range.

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1) Any differences in total case numbers for tables reflect imcomplete answers for those variables described by the tables.

* The Elementary Form (for Grades 4-8) was used for Grade 12 integrated students from Lebret. The generalizations cannot legitimately apply to grades above the accepted grade range, and at the Grade 12 level they seem particularly inapplicable.

Although there was some slight difference between the percentile ranks for the sub-sections of personality adjustment and social adjustment, most grades (14 out of 20) scored the same for both. The average percentile ranks by grade is remarkably consistent, with the exception of Grade 12.

Average Percentage Ranks for Total Adjustment by Grade

Grade	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Percent	30.0	30.0	35.0	35.0	40.0	40.0	40.0	60.0

2. Association of the California Test of Personality with the Independent Variables

Adjustment Scores Related to Age - Table 19

	13 & over		Under 13		
Adjustment Scores	No.	%	No.	%	Total
High	57	25.8	24	18.2	81
Medium	145	65.9	87	66.4	232
Low	18	8.18	20	15.3	38
Total	220	100.0	131	100.0	351

There appears to be a pattern of association between age and (25.8% to 18.2%) adjustment; the older student is better represented than the younger in the high test score category and the younger more than the older in the low test score category (15.3% to 8.2%). The association is significant enough within the high and low score categories to suggest that age does explain some of the variation among the scores.

Adjustment Scores Related to Sex - Table 20

Adjustment Scores	13 & over No.	13 & over %	Under 13 No.	Under 13 %	Total
High	43	24.4	40	22.9	83
Medium	112	63.6	117	67.2	229
Low	21	11.9	17	9.8	38
Total	176	100.0	174	100.0	350

It can be noted that there is approximately the same percentage of males and females (24.4% and 22.9%; 63.6% and 67.2%; 11.9% and 9.8%) represented in the test score categories high, medium and low. Therefore, there is no significant association between sex and adjustment measured by the California Test of Personality.

Adjustment Scores Related to Pupil Type of Children - Table 21

	Pupil		Type				
	Residential		Integrated		Day		
Adjustment Scores	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total
High	44	21.1	22	29.3	17	24.3	83
Medium	140	66.9	46	61.3	47	67.1	233
Low	25	11.9	7	9.3	6	8.5	38
Total	209	100.0	75	100.0	70	100.0	354

There is no significant association between pupil type and this measure of adjustment although there is a pattern of concentration of the higher adjustment in the integrated pupil type high test scores (29.3% of the integrated students) than in either the residential (21.1%) or day pupil type (24.3%).

Reasons for Admission Related to Adjustment Scores - Table 22 *

Related to the residential and integrated pupil types is the stated reason for the children's admission into the residential school (welfare or education) and its association with adjustment.

Adjustment Scores	Education No.	Education %	Welfare No.	Welfare %	Total No.	Total %
High	20	20.2	43	25.0	63	23.2
Medium	70	70.7	109	63.4	179	66.1
Low	9	9.1	20	11.6	29	10.7
Total	99	100.0	172	100.0	271	100.0

Although there are 25.0% of the welfare admissions represented in the high test score category as compared to 20.2% of those admitted for educational reasons, there is also a greater percentage of the welfare group represented in the low test score category (11.6% compared to 9.1%). This pattern however does not signify an important relationship between the two variables of reasons for admission and adjustment.

Adjustment Scores as Related to Individual Schools:

Average Percentage Scores by School

Beauval	35.0	Gordons	35.0
Onion Lake	30.0	Muscowequan	30.0
Duck Lake	35.0	St. Philips	30.0
Prince Albert	35.0	Lebret	40.0
		Cowesses	40.0

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* Education reasons are the combined result of rows 2,3,4, of col. 18, card 2: welfare reasons, row 1,5,6. Day students are omitted due to lack of admission forms.

Average Scores by Grade and School*

Schools	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Beauval			98.0	106.2				
Onion Lake		96.9		99.3				
Duck Lake		98.6		105.2				
Prince Albert	86.3				100.8	102.0		
Gordon	97.3		101.8					
Muscowequan		97.5	95.8					
St. Philips		92.9		102.9				
Lebret				105.5			107.0	115.9
Cowesses	101.4		103.4		102.6			

The similarity in these scores suggests the lack of a significant association between the schools and the adjustment of the children.

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*Norms for the test would be 50% or an average row score of 111 - 117. These figures again demonstrate the relatively low adjustment scores of the Indian student population.

3. Adjustment and Family Background Variables

A. Fathers' Occupation: The first two categories ('unemployed' and 'unskilled') are combined as 'low' occupational level, and the last three ('semi-skilled' 'service' 'professional') as 'high'.

Fathers' Occupational Level as Related
to Childrens' Adjustment Scores - Table 23

	Fathers' Occupational Level				
Adjustment Scores	Low No.	Level %	High No.	Level %	Total
High	47	23.7	9	30.0	56
Medium	134	67.8	17	56.7	151
Low	17	8.5	4	13.3	21
Total	198	100.0	30	100.0	228

Within the occupational categories of the fathers there appears to be no consistent pattern of difference. Those children with fathers having higher level occupations are better represented in the high test score category (30.0% compared to 23.7%), but this does not continue in the medium score category nor the low score category where one might expect the representation to be lower. Thus there is no significant association between the fathers' occupational level and their children's adjustment scores.

B. Fathers' School Type:

Fathers' School Type Related
To Children's Adjustment - Table 24

Adjustment Scores	Residential No.	Residential %	Integrated No.	Integrated %	Day No.	Day %	Total
High	42	27.1	1	9.1	21	21.4	64
Medium	100	64.5	9	81.8	67	68.3	176
Low	13	8.4	1	9.1	10	10.2	24
Total	155	100.0	11	100.0	98	100.0	264

Although there appears to be a much greater percentage of children with fathers who have attended residential or day schools in the high test score category (27.1% and 21.4% as compared to 9.1% for the integrated school type), those children whose fathers attended the integrated schools are best represented in the medium test score category. The representatation across the low test score category is equal. The small number of the integrated children represented makes any conclusions impossible. There is no significant association between the residential and day pupil type of father, and the children's adjustment.

Although data on family background is inadequate, there is no association seen here between adjustment and family background.

4. Aspirations, Attitudes and Adjustment

A. Aspirations and Adjustment: The association between aspirations and adjustment would be expected to be positive, - integrated personality does produce healthy and effective attitudes about the future; poor adjustment, doubts and hesitation about the future.

A recent study of fifty children discharged from the Residential Treatment Centre of the Children's Aid Society of Cleveland I) supports the selection of 'degree of adaptation' as the crucial indicator of treatment success. The report on this project states that a child might experience initial change, but unless he can sustain this and function with some degree of inner harmony in accordance with societal standards, it cannot be said that he has been treated successfully.

Educational Aspirations as Related
To Adjustment Scores - Table 25

		Adjustment Scores						
	Educational Aspirations of the children	High No.	%	Medium No.	%	Low No.	%	Total
low aspir.(	Until 16 or Grade 8	4	4.8	30	12.9	10	29.4	44
	Finish High School	11	13.4	51	21.9	4	11.8	66
high (aspir.	College or extra Job Training	67	81.7	151	65.2	20	58.8	238
	Total	82	100.0	232	100.0	34	100.0	348

I) Matsushima, J. Some aspects of defining 'success' in Residential Treatment - Child Welfare, 44 (5): 272, 1965.

A pattern of association definitely appears to emerge when the three scores for adjustment are correlated with the three levels of aspirations. This is particularly noticeable across the 'college' and 'extra job training' category and holds when the table is simplified as suggested into low aspirations (until 16 or Grade 8) and high aspirations (finish High School and College or extra Job Training). Those with a high adjustment score have higher educational aspirations (95.1). Those with low adjustment scores have lower aspirations (70.6).

Aspirations (low and high) Related
To Adjustment Scores - Table 26

	Aspirations						
	High		Medium		Low		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total
Low	4	4.8	30	12.9	10	29.4	44
High	78	95.1	202	87.1	24	70.6	304
Total	82	100.0	232	100.0	34	100.0	348

These tables demonstrate a positive relationship between adjustment and educational aspirations. The relationship between those with 'high' aspirations and high adjustment scores and those with 'low' (10% and under) adjustment and low aspirations is particularly interesting.

Children's Evaluation of their Fathers' Educational Level Related to Adjustment Scores - Table 27

Evaluation of Fathers Education	Adjustment Scores High No.	%	Medium No.	%	Low No.	%	Total
"more than I need"	17	22.1	52	25.8	8	24.2	77
"same as I need"	12	15.6	39	19.4	12	36.4	63
"less than I need"	48	62.3	110	55.2	13	39.3	171
Total	77	100.0	201	100.0	33	100.0	311

There does seem to be a pattern of association between adjustment scores of the students and the evaluation of their fathers' education. Those students with a 'high' score definitely appear to be more realistic (62.3% say fathers have less than they need) in their evaluation than those who have a 'low' score (only 39.3% say their fathers have less than they need). Even those with the 'medium' score appear significantly more realistic than those with low scores (55.2% as compared to 39.3% say their fathers have less education than they need). When "less than I need" is defined as realistic, and "more than I need" and "the same as I need" as unrealistic, the following table can be drawn to demonstrate the realism of the children.

Children's Realism Related To Their Adjustment Scores - Table 28

Evaluation	High No.	%	Medium No.	%	Low No.	%	Total
Realistic	48	62.3	110	55.2	13	39.3	171
Unrealistic	29	37.7	91	45.2	20	60.6	140
Total	77	100.0	201	100.0	33	100.0	311

There is a definite pattern of relationship between adjustment scores and realism as measured by this data. The most realistic are best represented in the high scores category (62.3%) and least represented in the low score category (39.3%).

Occupational Aspirations of the Children Related to Adjustment Scores - Table 29

low asp. (
high " (

	Occupational Aspirations and Adjustment						
	High		Medium		Low		
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total
Unskilled	12	15.4	28	14.4	6	19.3	46
Semi-skilled	7	8.9	31	16.9	3	9.9	41
Service	19	24.3	56	28.8	11	35.4	86
Professional	40	51.2	79	40.7	11	35.4	130
Total	78	100.0	194	100.0	31	100.0	303

This table could be simplified by using the same break in categories used in the analysis of fathers' occupational level. ('High aspirations' would include 'semi-skilled' 'service' and 'professional'; 'low aspirations' - 'unskilled').

High and Low Occupational Aspirations Related to Adjustment Scores - Table 30

	Adjustment Scores						
	High		Medium		Low		
Occupational Aspir.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total
Low	12	15.4	28	14.4	6	19.3	46
High	66	84.6	166	85.6	25	80.7	257
Total	78	100.0	194	100.0	31	100.0	303

Within the test score categories, high, medium and low, there is almost equal representation of those children with low aspirations (15.4% - 14.4% and 19.3%) and those with high aspirations (84.6% - 85.6% and 80.7%). There is no significant association demonstrated.

The Expectation of the Children Related
To Adjustment Scores - Table 31

	High		Medium		Low		Total	
Occupational Expect.	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Positive expectations	55	78.6	154	69.1	27	75.0	236	71.7
Negative expectations	15	21.4	69	30.9	9	25.0	93	28.3
Total	70	100.0	223	100.0	36	100.0	329	100.0

There appears to be no significant association between expectations of achievement and adjustment as there is approximately the same representation of expectations across the three test score categories.

B. Attitudes and Adjustment: A test was done for the association between adjustment and attitudes towards work ("the important thing about working", location of future jobs and the problems Indians have in earning a living) and education by the residential school (parental involvement, the biggest problems in school, an evaluation of what the residential school has taught the students and "what they would like to do more of").

a) Attitudes toward Work

There did not appear to be any significant relationship between adjustment and the "important thing about working" or adjustment and future job location. There did appear to be a relationship between adjustments scores and students' perspectives on the problem Indians had earning a living.

Problems Indians have Earning a Living Related to Adjustment Scores - Table 32

	High		Medium		Low		Total
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
Problems imposed by Indian culture 1)	49	72.1	92	47.2	12	38.7	153
Discrimination by the white culture 2)	19	27.9	103	52.8	19	61.3	141
Total	68*	100.0	195	100.0	31	100.0	294

72.1% of the better adjusted students ('high') see the problems in terms of the Indians' inabilities or inadequacies, whereas only 38.7% of the more poorly adjusted students have the same outlook. 61.3% of the most poorly adjusted see the problems as ones imposed by the white culture (discrimination) as compared to 27.9% of the better adjusted students. One would expect that the better adjusted students have reconciled their minority situation with the realities of the dominant culture. They appear to have adopted the majority white position at least in relation to Indians and their future. (See 'adjustment' and 'educational aspirations' for confirmation of this).

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1) Including lack of educational drive, instability in work and behaviour problems.
2) Including lack of job opportunities and adequate income for clothes and shelter and personal discrimination.
* Missing are 9 scores for day students in the 'high' category.

b) Attitudes toward Education by the Residential School

One would expect the more poorly adjusted residential and integrated students to show evidence of anxiety concerning the amount of involvement with parents; however there is no significant association between the two variables.

Attitudes Toward Their Parents' Visits
and Adjustment Scores - Table 33

Students want:	High No.	High %	Medium No.	Medium %	Low No.	Low %	Total
"Much more or never"	27	52.9	101	60.5	22	64.7	150
"Little more or same"	24	47.1	66	39.5	12	35.3	102
Total	51	100.0	167	100.0	34	100.0	252

The children with the high test scores seem to have somewhat less need for more parental interaction than those children with low adjustment scores (52.9% compared to 64.7%). This could be an indication of less anxiety about this type of family interaction, or it could merely indicate that better adjusted students actually feel closer to and see more of their families.

Children's Estimation of the Biggest Problem in School Related to Adjustment Scores - Table 34

	High		Medium		Low		
Problems seen as:	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	Total
"Own" problems	31	54.0	85	47.0	12	39.0	128
Brought on by "Others"	26	46.0	94	53.0	19	61.0	139
Total	57	100.0	179	100.0	31	100.0	267

To analyze the data derived from the question on the "biggest problem in school" in relation to adjustment scores, the categories of the original code were regrouped into personal or academic problems ("own" problems) and problems brought on by others (pupil relations, fighting, and discipline or teacher problems).

The relationship is not significant but a pattern does appear whereby the best adjusted see school problems as their "own" (54.0%) and the most poorly adjusted see them as primarily the result of "others" (53.0%).

"What the residential school has taught you" showed no significant relationship with adjustment as measured by the California Test of Personality.

Children's Desired Activities Related To Adjustment Scores - Table 35

Type of Activities	High No.	High %	Medium No.	Medium %	Low No.	Low %	Total
Leisure or Sports	36	66.6	136	82.4	18	85.7	190
Education	18	33.3	29	17.6	3	14.3	50
Total	54	100.0	165	100.0	21	100.0	240

There was a greater tendency for the best adjusted children to concentrate on the desire for more educational opportunities, when compared to children in the medium and low adjustment score group (33.3% compared to 17.6% and 14.3%).

Those children whose adjustment is scored as medium or low definitely appear to prefer sports; more so than those whose adjustment is scored as high (82.4% and 85.7% compared to 66.6%).

CONCLUSION

The adjustment scores have significance for their association with educational aspirations. The better adjusted students ('high') definitely have a greater concern with the need for education which holds throughout other questions involving an educational component. In some cases, (perspective on school problems and occupational problems of Indians) there appears to be a pattern emerging which would be identified with adaptation toward the white culture. The better adjusted students seem to have set themselves 'outside' their own culture (i.e. they identify problems as characteristics of the Indian race) instead of setting themselves against the white culture (i.e. the poorer adjusted tend to mention discrimination or discriminatory practices as causal).

This explanation would have to be tested further to measure the significance of the pattern; however the practitioner should not ignore the implications of social and personal adjustment for the reality of adaptation. A balanced investment in the personal welfare and adjustment of the Indian students should be more effective than the present tendency to an integrated educational system.

CHAPTER IV

LEGAL STATUS AND ADMISSIONS

Legislation covering residential schools is a part of the Indian Act, 1951. This legislation defines a child as an Indian who has attained the age of six years but has not attained the age of sixteen years and as a person who is required by the Minister to attend school. The legislation defines schools as including day schools, technical schools, high schools and residential schools.

Section 113 of the Indian Act states that the Minister can enter into agreements for the education of Indian children with:

a. the government of a province,
b. the Commissioner of the Yukon Territory,
c. the Commissioner of the North West Territories,
d. a public or separate school board, and
e. a religious or charitable organization.

The legal basis of the residential school system is permissive in that the legislation sets out alternatives which the Minister may use in the provision of educational facilities for the Indian child.

The nine residential schools in Saskatchewan are owned and maintained by the Indian Affairs Branch with contractual arrangements between the Branch and the religious denominations regarding management of the schools. The form for admission to a residential school is signed by the parent or guardian of the child. In theory, the Indian parent places his child in a residential school but in practice, there are numerous variations as to who takes the initiative to start the admission process. Quite often, family breakdown leads the superintendent of an agency or his staff to place a child.

The admission application signed by the parent or guardian gives a measure of guardianship to the principal while the child is attending school. Permission for medical and dental treatment, as the principal deems necessary, is conveyed by the signed form. But the form specifies that in all cases involving an operation, an endeavour shall be made to obtain the parents' consent.

The principals hold differing views as to the measure of guardianship conferred on them. Some feel that it presents no problem at all, and that they are the legal guardians of the child with all the rights and responsibilities of a guardian; others feel that the parents are the legal guardians and could revoke the agreement and remove the children from the residential school.

The admission form, however, spells out that the child shall remain under the guardianship of the principal for such term as the Minister deems proper.

The guardianship issue is a special problem when children are involved in residential schools for other than educational reasons. If the child is in need of protection due to family break-down, the admission form type of guardianship is weak. In effect the parent can revoke his consent to have the child remain in residential school. Most of the principals expressed the view that if a parent demanded his child be released they would comply. Again the placement of the child in a foster home during the summer appears to be assuming guardianship rights beyond those conveyed by the admission form. There is a real contrast to the extreme care exercised by a court of law in child welfare proceedings in respect to removal of guardianship of a parent and the establishment of a new guardian. An important right of a child is to have a guardian. For the child who is placed in a residential school for a welfare reason, the matter of guardianship is far too obscure.

1. Child Welfare Legislation:

The province of Saskatchewan has excellent non-discriminatory child welfare legislation applicable to all persons in the province. This legislation has six major purposes:

a. investigating allegations or evidence of neglect of children,

b. protecting neglected children,

c. providing care for children assigned to it under the Child Welfare Act or any other Act,

d. supervising children assigned to its supervision under the Child Welfare Act or any other Act,

e. placing children for adoption,

f. assisting unmarried parents and their children, and any other duties given to the child welfare authority by the Act or any other Act.

While provincial child welfare services supposedly are non-discriminatory, in reality they are not available to the Indians of Saskatchewan. The reasons for this seem to go back into history when the prevalent attitude in the Branch, readily accepted by the province, was that the Indian is the exclusive responsibility of the federal government. This approach has been challenged and the legal rights of Indians under provincial law is spelled out in Section 87 of the Indian Act - R. S. C. 1952.

However, officials of both the Branch and the provincial department with whom the project director spoke, agree that at present there is only minimal service provided to Indian families and children. Indeed, it is felt that it would require a massive investment of staff and funds to provide adequate service.

Care and Custody:

The care of the Indian child and the custody of the Indian child are not minor issues. If a child is placed in a residential school because he needs protection due to parental neglect; is this situation any different in July and August than in September or October? The majority of children return home for the summer period. The principals explained this apparent dichotomy by saying that the summer period was less demanding in the care of children - the weather was warm, there was food available and that it is generally considered the 'fun season' in the culture. Another important reason not mentioned was the institutional system which was geared to operate ten months rather than twelve. This reflected again the dominant influence in the institutions of a basic education function or goal rather than a child care function.

The removal of the child from his home, by an administrative decision, relieved the parent of responsibility for the care of the child. But the custody of the child is left in doubt, particularly when the program is structured for him to return for a two-month period in the summer. For the child whose parents are neglectful, this is serious.

The lack of parental influence or participation during ten months of the year leaves the child alone to adapt and adjust to the white culture of the residential school. The absence of the influence of the residential school during the summer months leaves the child to readapt and readjust to the Indian culture. Time and again the principals raised the question of the ease with which the Indian child moved from one culture to the other.

It was likened to taking off one set of clothes and putting on another. Examples of diet, living habits, religious observances and language all pointed to this cultural switch depending on the environment. It can only be explained by the lack of internalization of the white cultural values. The Indian child will submit to the direction of the white authority but it is wrong to equate submission with internalization of the value system.

It is suggested that many adolescent Indians return to the reserve culture as a form of rebellion, confronted as they are with conflicting pulls between the two cultures.

Central to a resolution of the impact of the cultural clash and struggle for the Indian child is an integration of these major forces in his life. Few children are equipped to handle this struggle on their own. The need for an approach that strengthens the family and assists the family to participate and support the child in his adaptation is essential.

Indeed it is essential that the family itself adapt if any significant results are expected with the child. Dividing the care and custody of the child into time units in the year must be re-examined. The rôle of family and the parental function may need to be augmented but should not be supplanted, except in serious cases of child protection and then only with due legal process.

In the absence of any real child welfare services to Indians in Saskatchewan, the Branch has adapted its existing machinery to meet the need. The residential school is thus seen as a resource for the child who needs protection and placement outside his home. Statistics on admission (see next section) clearly indicate that the majority of admissions result from child welfare problems rather than educational needs.

Negotiations covering services to Indians between the federal government and the province must take into account the need for a modern system for the care of dependant and neglected children and the provision of adequate services to support families in time of crisis. The Indian family, like any other, should have available to it the best system of family and child welfare service that a modern state can provide. The cost of such a service, and decisions as to provincial and federal financing responsibility, will not be easy to calculate.

Admissions:

The Admission policy of an institution should reflect the type of service the instituion is structured to provide. Who is denied entry, as well as who is admitted, is significant in understanding the philosphy and purpose of the institution. In the residential school field, tension over admissions led to the request for this study by the Canadian Welfare Council. The Branch has established a policy whereby the Indian children having first access to residential schools were those living in unsatisfactory home situations or who were orphaned. The purpose of an instiution is to care for the children it can treat. It became, therefore, of utmost importance for the long-range planning of the Branch and the Churches to understand how well they were meeting the objectives of treating and caring for the dependent and neglected Indian children - - the main group in residential schools.

Reason for Admisssion of 1612 Indian Children to nine Residential Schools in Saskatchewan - Table 36

	Educational Needs	Child Welfare Needs	Emotionally Disturbed	Mentally Retarded	Delinquent
1. Kamsack	18	87			
2. Onion Lake	13	113			
3. Prince Albert	315	31	4		
4. Punnichy	40	110	1	1	5
5. Beauval	80	44	6	4	3
6. Lebret	112	139	9	2	6
7. Lestock		157	6	12	
8. Duck Lake	45	158			
9. Marieval	16	73		2	
Totals	639	912	26	21	14

In Table 36, the admissions have been divided into five categories. The first two cover situations arising from home environment: educational, meaning that the primary reason for admission was the lack of access to a day school on the reserve, the migratory pattern of living of the family, or the lack of any nearby integrated school the child could attend; child welfare needs, covering the orphan child, the child born out wedlock, or family breakdown. The last three categories cover children with special needs: emotionally disturbed, mentally retarded and delinquent.

Of the 1612 children in residence, 912 are there for child welfare needs and 639 for educational needs . . . 26 were identified as emotionally disturbed on admission . . . 21 as mentally retarded and 14 as delinquent. There were a number of psychological and psychiatric reports for the retarded and disturbed children. In the main these reports were prepared after the child's admission. The schools normally don't admit delinquent children; however in particular cases where it was felt that the child would respond to the residential school setting, exceptions were made and the children admitted. Combining the educational need and the mentally retarded categories, the total is 660 for education-related reasons, and combining the other three welfare-related categories, the total is 952. The over-all admission percentages for the nine residential schools show welfare admission totals 60% and educational admissions total 40%.

If the Prince Albert school statistics are removed from these totals, the remaining eight schools show an 80% welfare reason for admission and a 20% educational reason.

The eight schools thus very clearly reflect the admission policy of the Branch.

Admission Process: The hard data on reasons for admission are easily measured if one accepts the validity of the statements on the admission forms. But a fuller consideration of the process is necessary.

In normal child welfare practice, the admission process should include the following steps:

1. Adequate appraisal at the initial point of application to evaluate the basis for the placement request, to assess the severity of the problems and the appropriateness of group care as the method to help the child and to study the institution's capacity to meet the needs of the child.
2. Extensive counselling with parents to establish with them the purpose of placement, to define with them the character and extent of their participation, to provide substantial casework service in relation to the problems which necessitate placement of their child.
3. Casework treatment for children to prepare them for placement to help them modify or resolve their behaviour and personality problems during placement.
4. Planning for after-care needs in relation to the child's discharge and the after-care services that he and his family will require.

In actual practise at the residential schools these things happen at each of the four key steps:

1. Theoretically the parent initiates the request for placement of his child in a residential school. This may be appropriate in the educational needs category but is inappropriate in a child protection service where the parent, if available, would likely need a tremendous amount of counselling to voluntarily surrender his child for placement. It is evident from the lack of child welfare services to Indian children in Saskatchewan that the placement of children in residential schools is the method of handling family situations where there is a need to protect the children. The lack of recorded data, even on the admission form, suggests that little or no counselling is done with the child or his parents and that an administrative decision is made at the agency level to place the child.

2. There is little or no evidence of counselling with parents of children admitted to residential schools. Indeed, one could search far to find a parallel situation in which parents are less involved in the direction of their children than residential schools. There were a number of instances of parents visiting, or schools that allowed week-end leaves for their children, but these were the exception rather than the rule.

The Branch has been arguing for the establishment of parent-teacher organizations but little has been done. Insofar as service to the Indian parents around the problems which necessitated placement of their children there is no evidence that any substantial work has even begun in this area.

3. Social work is the major discipline in a child welfare programme. However, we find that although 80% of the admissions in eight of the residential schools are for child welfare reasons, there is no social work staff at any stage in the admission process, or in the institution. The preparation of the children for placement is impossible under the system. There is no staff to do it. Two weeks before the residential schools were due to open in September 1966, the principals did not know who had been approved for placement in their schools.

Professional services in the institution to help children modify or resolve their behaviour and personality problems during placement are completely lacking. This is not intended to reflect on principals, teachers or clergy in the schools, but to stress the point that in the functions which they primarily discharge they are neither equipped nor should they be expected to provide professional casework service.

4. Planning for discharge of a child from an institution should begin on the day he arrives. However there was no evidence at all of planning of this dimension with the children or with their parents. When the child reaches Grade 8 he is included in a group that is interviewed by a Branch educational officer on the next step in his educational programme. Some supervision was provided for those students who were placed in foster homes to continue their education in the city. However the guidance officers, with a case load of 150 Indian students in foster home placements spread over a wide geographical area, cannot physically handle the demands of the job and certainly no level of intensive supervision is possible.

The failure of the admissions policy of Indian residential schools can be summarized as follows:

a. The admission policies do not follow the established criteria for determining which children need institutional care.

b. Continuous work with the Indian parents before, during, and after the child's placement has not been available.

c. Children in residence have been without the counselling needed to help them deal constructively with their problems.

d. The daily living program has not been specifically directed towards treatment, nor geared to utilize group life as a part of rehabilitation.

e. The specialized services of consultants have been used only sporadically.

f. Discharge planning and preparation for the child's leaving have not received due emphasis nor been diagnostically determined.

CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATIVE ASPECTS

The material in this chapter deals with the residential school system and the administrative analysis of this system as it affects the adaptation and adjustment of Indian children. The thesis of this chapter is that the organization of the physical plant, the system of administration, the basis of finance and the program have a real impact on the way in which the child adapts to the environment. The over-all concern that emerges is the need for a comprehensive set of standards to guide both the Branch and the Churches in operating an institutional resource for children. There is standardization in such areas as budget allowance for food and clothing, salary levels and the academic program, but the development and implementation of acceptable standards of child care are lacking. To the project director this absence of child care standards is reflected in the treatment of children en masse rather than as individuals and is observable for example in the limitations of the physical structures, the high degree of regimentation, the sleeping and eating arrangements and the ratio of staff to children.

1. The Physical Plants

A. Designation: Because the nine schools have two designations it is important at the outset to identify them and establish the designation that will be used throughout the report. Table 37 lists the name of the instituion, the designation for the report, the location of the school and the auspices.

Nine Indian Residential Schools in Saskatchewan - Table 37

	Name	Designation in Report	Location	Auspices
1.	St. Philips Indian Res. School	Kamsack	Kamsack	Roman Catholic
2.	Onion Lake R.C. Indian Res. School	Onion Lake	Onion Lake	Roman Catholic
3.	All Saints Res. School	Prince Albert	Prince Albert	Anglican
4.	Gordon Res. School	Punnichy	Punnichy	Anglican
5.	Indian Res. School Beauval, Saskatchewan	Beauval	Beauval	Roman Catholic
6.	Qu'Appelle Indian Res. School	Lebret	Lebret	Roman Catholic
7.	Muscowequan Indian Res. School	Lestock	Lestock	Roman Catholic
8.	St. Michael's Indian Res. School	Duck Lake	Duck Lake	Roman Catholic
9.	Cowesses Indian Res. School	Marieval	Marieval	Roman Catholic

B. Auspices: As Table 37 shows, seven of the schools are under the management of the Roman Catholic Church, and two are under the management of the Anglican Church of Canada. The Roman Catholic Schools are administered by principals who are priests and members of the Order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate. The Anglican Schools are administered by principals who are priests of the Anglican Church of Canada.

The Oblate Fathers' Indian and Eskimo Welfare Commission, Ottawa, is the central coordinating church office for the Roman Catholic schools. The work of the Anglican Church in this field is under the Residential Schools and Hostels Division, Anglican Church of Canada.

Both Roman Catholic and Anglican Schools operate under a standard contract between the central church offices and the Minister in Charge of Indian Affairs.

C. Ownership and Maintenance of Plants: The Crown owns the lands and buildings of the nine residential schools. The maintenance of the buildings and equipment is also Crown responsibility. This accords with the general pattern of ownership and maintenance of residential schools across Canada. There are several schools where the buildings are still owned by the Church.

D. Location: There has been a pattern in Canada to build children's institutions 'in the woods'. Land was cheaper and problems of control were less visible to neighbouring communities. In a number of instances cities have grown out to and around the institutions and today they are located on some of the richest real estate in Canada. Indeed, some institutions have been able to fund their up-dating in program, new buildings and additional services by the sale of real estate no longer used for farming.

Eight of the schools in Saskatchewan are located on or near the Indian reserves they serve.

Beauval, Onion Lake and Marieval are the most remote from any major centre of population. Beauval is situated eighty miles north of Meadow Lake on a very secondary sand highway. Onion Lake is cut off for part of the year because it is reached by a ferry across the Saskatchewan River. Marieval is situated mid-point between the communities of Broadway and Greyson. Punnichy, Lestock and Duck Lake are located near small centres but the communities do not offer the kind of resources that support and enhance an institutional program.

The town of Kamsack has been the subject of an excellent research study. Although the residential school is located five miles from the community, tensions between the town and the Indian population are reflected in negative attitudes towards the residential school.

Lebret, located near Fort Qu'Appelle, has a larger centre of population and additional community resources from which to draw. It was disturbing to note the lack of communication between the high school personnel in Fort Qu'Appelle and the residential school administration concerning the integrated students.

Prince Albert is located on choice real estate in the city of Prince Albert. In theory it has all the advantages of location, being able to draw on the services and facilities of a large urban community. The large number of integrated students in Prince Albert also forces a high degree of community contact.

It must be observed, however, that the residential schools have by and large isolated themselves from direct community participation either in their programs or reaching out to the community. Indeed schools immediately adjacent to Indian reserves can be strongly criticized for the invisible wall that exists, apparently to protect the children from the reserve population. Incidents of disturbance and vandalism attributed to persons from a reserve in the past have caused some administrators to shut off contact between the reserve population and the children at the schools.

To illustrate, there is one school which designates an Indian Parlor as the place where Indians may visit pupils. It is a porch on the main building. It is enclosed but only crudely furnished with benches. The problem of supervision reached such proportions at some point in the past that a one-way mirror was installed to observe what was going on in the parlor. The involvement of Indian parents with their children attending the residential schools will be dealt with more fully in later aspects of the report.

The position of the schools is ambivalent with respect to the communities adjacent to them, whether they be Indian or white. They are not focal centres for programs of social upgrading, cultural enhancement or recreation for Indians and they appear to be remote from and uninvolved in the white communities of which they may be a part.

An urban location is desirable for these reasons:

1. It is easier to attract and hold competent staff in this setting. Few senior people, or those with professional training, will choose to live in isolated locations.

2. The urban setting prevents the staff from becoming ingrown. There are opportunities for staff to be stimulated by discussions with other experts in their own and related fields. Extension and similar courses can be arranged easily, through the university if there is one or through the use of specialist staffs available in the urban setting.

3. Part-time staff from the community can be utilized to supplement the work of the institutional staff.

4. Community facilities, such as clinics, hospitals, technical schools, universities and churches can be used for the children. Such facilities are becoming increasingly available in most areas.

5. Community contacts, such as exchange visiting, employment interviews, sports, theatrical productions, and use of institutional facilities by the community are facilitated.

The location of residential schools illustrates the problems involved in policy-making because of competing factors that must be considered, such as:

The long-term goal of integrating the child as an adult Indian in Canadian society suggests an urban location, while

The need for contact with the pupil's family suggests a location near the reserve.

E. Design and Condition of the Plants: Several general observations are appropriate before discussing individual schools. The nine schools are located on most desirable physical landscape in their areas. Proximity to lakes, a hill commanding a view of the countryside or a peaceful valley were the main factors in site location. Indeed it was never difficult to find a residential school; one only had to look for the most attractive natural landscape and the school appeared.

Residences in eight of the nine schools, Prince Albert being the exception, are the traditional orphanage type of structure. This is a three-storey brick or wood building in which all the children sleep, eat and play. Many of the staff have their rooms there, and in a number of the schools some classrooms were also housed in the central or main building. This design, which was in vogue in 1932, was popular because it was cheap, supposedly efficient, and could house the maximum number of people in the minimum amount of space with a minimum of staff required for supervision.

The design of a child-caring institution either contributes to the good of the program or is a real drawback. Buildings are an institutional necessity and their design, construction and layout is of major importance to program.

The residential schools are designed for the care of children, en masse. They sleep in large dormitories, sometimes with up to fifty occupants. Bunk beds are used and it is often difficult to move between the beds. The children are usually fed cafeteria style in dining halls. The games rooms are inadequate for the number of children who use them. There is a lack of storage or locker space. In such a structure there is no place where a child can escape from the group.

When the physical limitations of the daily living programs are evaluated in the light of such factors as the individualization of the child, that is, the importance afforded the child as a person, the schools score very low. With the knowledge of child care available today, it is inexcusable that children are still cared for in a nineteenth-century atmosphere of shelter. Opportunities for a child to get away from the group, away from constant exposure to other children, must be provided in a sound institutional setting; the residential schools lack these facilities.

F. Condition: It is a tribute to the efficiency of the housekeeping staff that the residential schools are as clean and orderly as they prove to be. From dormitory to dining room, from washroom to play area, there was an order and tidiness in the arrangement that never ceased to amaze the project director.

It demanded regimentation of the children to accomplish this and again emphasized the fact that the children are treated as a number to be counted and directed, rather than as individuals to be cared for.

Regimentation and routine cannot be escaped in an institution but it is the degree to which they are imposed that is crucial for the children. A high degree of regimentation and routine is unavoidable in buildings of the type used in the residential schools.

A number of the residential school buildings should be closed immediately. The main building at Kamsack is of most immediate concern. It is an old wooden structure and the risk of fire with a possibly high toll in lives is too dangerous to risk. Surely the country has experienced sufficient tragedy through fires in institutions to make us face the necessity of sound and safe buildings for the care of children. The public wrath that would be incurred by such a tragedy should be compulsion enough for action to occur now. Better that a child's education be interrupted for a time than that any further risks be taken in loss of life.

Efforts have been made in the past year to reduce the number of children in the residential schools because of over-crowding. The authorized enrollment in each school has been set up and as Table 38 on this item illustrates, the schools have adhered to this new quota.

Numerical Breakdown of Services Provided By
Residential Schools in Saskatchewan - Table 38

	Authorized Enrollment	No. of Children in Residence	No. of Day Students	Res. Students attending Integ. Classes	Total	
					Boys	Girls
1. Kamsack	100	105	166		133	138
2. Onion Lake	125	126	146		131	141
3. Pr. Albert	375	350		223	179	171
4. Punnichy	165	157	41	16	102	96
5. Beauval	140	137			77	60
6. Lebret	300	268		10	136	132
7. Lestock	175	175	55		129	101
8. Duck Lake	180	203		22	105	98
9. Marieval	90	91	117		103	105
Total	1650	1612	525	271	1095	1042

It is not clear how the authorized enrollment was determined or whether it is planned to gradually reduce the population to manageable limits. The authorized enrollment for the nine residential schools is 1,650 and the number of children in residence at the time of the study was 1,612. The only school that was significantly over the authorized enrollment was Duck Lake. A fire in a day school, Cumberland House on Pine Bluff Reserve, necessitated the placement of children at Duck Lake for the remainder of the term and this accounted for the extra number of children above the authorized enrollment.

The schools that caused the project director immediate concern in terms of the condition of the main buildings, overcrowding, and fire danger, were Kamsack, Onion Lake and Marieval. Both Onion Lake and Marieval are remote from available fire fighting equipment, and are of wood construction.

They represent real fire hazards even though extensive expenditures have been made on fire warning equipment.

It would require a lengthy catalogue to list the obvious needs for upgrading and updating the physical plants in the eight residential schools. Foremost, in the minds of a number of principals, was the need for gymnasiums. The lack of indoor play areas and the value of gymnasiums for a wide variety of activities is not a debatable issue, the need for them is self-evident.

G. New Construction: The new construction which has occurred in the past ten years in eight of the schools has been exclusively for academic blocks. The contrast between the modern academic buildings and the main residential structures, where the children live, is startling. Indeed this contrast is so sharp as to be a dominant impression of residential schools in Saskatchewan. It must be inferred that the Education Services Division of the Indian Affairs Branch places its highest priority on the educational function of the residential schools and hence has been able to secure the capital funds necessary for excellent classrooms, housing for the teachers, and supplies and equipment for the school program. The status of teachers is also an interesting testimony to the priority given education in the administration of the Branch. When contrasted with child care staff in salary received, hours worked, and living accommodations provided, the teachers are much more favoured.

Considerable funds have been expended on maintenance, and Duck Lake School is the primary example of a major overhaul of the interior of the main buildings to update the physical surroundings.

New plumbing, wiring, and tiling have been installed and new interior walls have been constructed. However, the problem remains of too many children crowded into too small a space, with no opportunity for any semblance of family-type living.

The effect of this type of structure and design is to force conformity on the child rather than enabling the staff to take into account the unique personality of the child and his individual needs; it forces him to become a member of a large group in every significant aspect of living. The importance of the group relationship and status amongst his peers becomes paramount. Added to this is the dilution of the adult-child relationship by the large number the adult must care for. Indeed in this situation, because the children share a common cultural background, the white adult is very much the alien. His value system while learned is not absorbed.

2. Prince Albert

A wide gap separates eight of the schools from the partially-built Prince Albert complex. It is different from the other eight schools to such a marked degree that it will be referred to separately. Prince Albert is the only urban school, located as it is on choice property overlooking the city. It is the largest school, with an authorized enrollment of 375 students. Of the total 271 residential students attending integrated classrooms, 223 or 80% are in residence at the Prince Albert School. These factors and others, which separate the Prince Albert School, will be dealt with in other parts of the report.

The present physical plant consists mainly of military barracks built during World War 11. Four very modern cottages have been completed in the past two years. These are the first of 35 new buildings which will make up the new Prince Albert campus. The inadequacy of war-time army barracks and mess halls as an environment for children is accepted. The decision to replace these structures is to be commended. The temporary necessity of housing children whose school had burned in 1946, became an almost permanent solution, considering that two decades have passed and the majority of children in the Prince Albert School still sleep, eat and have their recreation in the huts.

This school is the only one where capital funds have been invested in creating a new physical environment for the care of residential children. The cottages are attractive and well-equipped. They can house up to 24 children each and are so marked an improvement on anything else in Saskatchewan that one hesitates to be critical at all of them. From the point of view of physical plant it is sufficient to say that the Prince Albert cottages are so far superior to other accommodation for children in residential schools in Saskatchewan and, indeed, in other parts of the Prince Albert School, as to defy comparison.

3. Responsibility for Program

A. Approach: Program responsibility is highly complex in the residential schools and requires careful study. The Director of Education Services has administrative responsibility for the whole program of Indian Education Services, a part of which are the residential schools. There appears to have developed over the years since the Branch assumed ownership of the physical plant, a separation of program responsibility between the Branch and the Church. Education, maintenance, admission of children and budget control are regarded as the Branch's responsibility. The management of staff, hiring and recruitment of child care supervisors and the standard of day-to-day child care is the responsbility of the Church through the principal. A number of directives from the Branch in the past few years indicates that the nature of the separation is less clear cut. Examples of Branch involvement in what were formerly regarded exclusively as Church responsibilities, include the establishment of an authorized enrollment reduction of the number of children assigned to one supervisor - from 30 to 25, and a very recent decision by the Canada Labour Relations Board that non-teaching employees of the residential schools are employees of the Crown.

It is well defined that the Branch through supervising principals in areas of the province, through the Regional Superintendent of residential schools on up to the Director, Education Services, has the program responsibility for the academic content of the residential schools.

Through pressure for improved standards in the child-care aspect of the program, the Branch has also introduced standards, e. g. that one supervisor will have 25 children as his group. Because improvement in such standards have further implications, the Branch is becoming more and more involved in the non-academic area of the schools' operation.

The responsibilities for program appear to be more and more the concern of the Branch and consequently less influenced by the Church. In this regard there is a dilemma for the principal who is the representative of his Church in the administration of the school, when the policy decisions that vitally affect his management are made not by the Church but by the Branch.

To be blunt, the goals of the Church and the goals of the Branch are different in their priorities. Presumably, the Church continues to be involved in the residential program as the spiritual agency in reaching the child while the Branch is primarily concerned with the educational function. As the report states in a later chapter, the function of the residential school appears to be primarily a child welfare resource for Indian children and this aspect of the program is now becoming clearly recognized and supported.

There is no question that the Branch exercises the major supervisory function on the program of the residential school. There is a split in the work of the Branch and we find that certain functions such as the initiation of admission applications are handled through the local Indian Agency; that large maintenance authorization is tied in with the local agency, and that numerous problems in communication rest between the principals and the local agencies' staff. It was interesting to note the number of times principals reported direct communication between themselves and the Director, Education Services, by-passing all the regional structures. It must be assumed that their unique positions as Church representatives gave them a sense of freedom in direct communication which under normal circumstances in bureaucracy would result in sanctions by the local and regional staff who carry responsibility.

Beginning with the principal of the school, it is useful to observe the number of persons who hold him accountable for various functions:

1. regional Superintendent of Indian Residential Schools,
2. the Agency Superintendent in the locale where the Residential School is located,
3. the District Superintendent in the area of the school's location,
4. the headquarters staff of the Education Services Division,
5. the Church officer to whom he is accountable.

B. Evaluation and Standards

While budget control, educational supervision, maintenance of buildings, admissions and discharges are carefully supervised by various specialists, the principal is on his own in respect to the child-care program in the institution. It may be that the Branch expects such programs to be evaluated and supervised by the Church, and the Church has the same expectations of the Branch. The fact of the matter is that no outside evaluation and supervision of the child-care component of the program appears operative. It would seem logical that the Regional Superintendent of Residential Schools would have this role of evaluation, supervision and consultation. The absence of manuals of policy and procedures and personnel policies is just a further indication of the greater need for clarity for both staff and children in day-to-day operation.

The absence of any formalized and routine system of evaluation creates a risk that is both dangerous and unnecessary. In medical practice, prevention is preferable to cure, and the earlier the diagnosis is made of a disease, the better are the chances of recovery. This analogy is true for the operation of a children's institution.

Evaluation without a set of standards is like measuring a room without a tape. The development of adequate standards in the instituional care of children has been the focus of attention of a number of North American agencies.

The Children's Bureau of the United States government, the Child Welfare League of America, various State authorities, the Ontario Association of Children's Aid Societies, are some of the organizations which have tackled this issue. The standards are developed for the safety of the children and for the development of the child in the program. In addition to the development of standards there should be a written manual of policies and procedures to guide all the staff in their day-to-day job.

A joint committee from the Branch and from the newly formed Association of Principals of Indian Residential Schools, with outside consultation, should undertake this important task of establishing standards and a general manual of policies and procedures. For several years the standards may have to serve as guide and goals while the necessary adjustments are made in the physical plant, the program and staffing arrangements; once established, the standards will be a critical instrument in the process of evaluation.

The procedures and authority implied in a regular evaluation may in the introductory stage prove threatening to some principals. But if appropriately handled and recognized, feelings of apprehension can be allayed through the improved reaction of the children and the improved operations of the residential school. An inherent part of this program of routine evaluation would be consultation with the principal and staff on special behavioural problems and others.

4. Basis of Finance

The nine residential schools are maintained and supported by the Indian Affairs Branch. The contribution by the churches is minimal in the total budget and is designated for special purposes, such as the religious program of the school or special gifts at Christmas. The Anglican Church has been making a contribution toward the superannuation fund for church employees. For all practical purposes the contribution in money from church sources is of no significant account in the over-all budget of the schools.

In January 1966, the nine principals were asked to complete a questionnaire on the latest figures available showing a cost breakdown of their operations. From the breakdown, four items were isolated which appear in Table 39. These items are salaries, food, clothing and the cost per annum per child. These items are comparable among the nine schools. Items such as maintenance and extra-curricular activities show cost fluctuations. The salary budget does not include teachers' salaries which are handled directly by the Indian Affairs Branch.

Selected Cost Breakdown of Nine Residential Schools
Cost per child per item and Cost per child per Annum - Table 39

		Enrollment	Salaries	Food	Clothing	Per child per Annum
		$	$	$	$	$
1.	Kamsack	100	529.	211.	68.	1,122.
2.	Onion Lake	125	475.	122.	60.	850.
3.	Prince Albert	375.	292.	150.	64.	02.
4.	Punnichy	165	380	170.	63.	852.
5.	Beauval	140	579.	144.	85.	1,093.
6.	Lebret	300	333.	151.	68.	694.
7.	Lestock	175	304	162.	66.	742.
8.	Duck Lake	180	458.	206.	77.	880.
9.	Marieval	90	662.	198.	82.	1,193.

Observations on Table 39 bear out the general rule that the more children in care the cheaper the unit cost. The two large schools, Lebret and Prince Albert have the lowest unit costs per child per annum. Beauval is the only school where a northern allowance is paid to staff and this contributes to its high unit cost. There is a consistency in the unit expenditures on clothing and to a lesser extent on food. The higher figures for some of the schools is explained by the extra allowance for day students who receive their noon meal at the school. Certain fixed costs do not vary with the size of the school. There is, for example, one principal whether there are 90 or 375 students. Many of the housekeeping and maintenance staff are also independent of the number of students in the school.

The per diem allowance for food was uniformly set at 66 cents per day per child as of September 1, 1966. Transportation costs from the major wholesale centre near the school are charged separately. It is argued that the younger children eat as much as the older children and often waste more food.

The Indian Affairs Branch has relied on the services of the Nurtritional Branch of the Department of National Health and Welfare in determining a standard for food costs. The practice is to relate the food allowance to the cost of living and consumer price index.

The clothing allowance is worked out on a quarterly basis at $13.39 for children 12 years and under, and $19.69 for children 13 years and over. There was an increase of approximately 10 percent in the clothing allowance figures on September 1, 1966. This allowance could be adequate, assuming the child comes into care adequately outfitted. However this is seldom the case, and the schools are hard pressed to dress their students properly. The condition of boots, shoes, and other footwear, cause great concern because of their relatively high replacement cost and the need to replace them often. The institutions' central purchasing office in Winnipeg was used by the principals both for the purchase of jobber lots and to check on wholesale prices. Much initiative remained with the principal to work out the best deal he could get.

The best deals necessarily lead to mass purchases with limited variety in color and style of garments. The residential students who remained at the school and had limited contact with the outside environment were the poorest-clad group. A number of the schools had uniforms for use on special occasions.

One of the problems of integration faced by the principal was how to dress his students going to public school in an acceptable manner so that they would not feel different from the average child attending a public school. One could comment that in this matter of supplying the integrated student with comparable clothing only a beginning has been made. The extra demands for spending money for hairdo's, sports programs and dating are significant new expenditures as the child socializes in the process of integration, and are not recognized in budgets.

Since the principals do not control admissions to their schools and operate under an authorized enrollment, they do not actively seek out children to attend the institution. When direct requests are received, these are referred to the Branch.

The cost per child per annum (see Table 39) is low in comparison with most progressive institutional programs for children. It is recognized that there are other costs such as capital funds for buildings and remodeling, teachers' salaries and the work of Branch personnel.

Nevertheless, the operational costs bear out the philosophy of caring for children at the least public expense rather than developing a program to meet the special needs of children, which will cost considerably more. A reference to some specialized institutional services for children illustrates the increase in high costs of programs which are geared to provide a total service to the child. A 1964 study of the costs of residential treatment in the United States showed an over-all range of costs per child per annum from $4500 to $14,059. In Canada, there is a wide pattern of costs. Provincial institutions for children in Nova Scotia are averaging $3,300 per annum, an Ontario treatment centre for children, Warrendale, has had a fee of $27.00 per day or $9,855 per annum; a Winnipeg institution reports its per diem cost at $16.50 per day or $6,052.50 per annum. The purpose in referring to these costs in other institutional programs is solely to make the point that the care of children in an institutional setting is expensive, if the philosophy is to meet the needs of the child rather than caring for children as cheaply as possible.

If the residential schools are to be modified with an emphasis and focus on the child, recognizing the unique struggle he faces in adapting from one culture to another, the costs are going to be high.

5. Program

The organization of the residential school program is crucial to the attainment of the goals of the institutions. Of special importance in this study are the ways in which the program promotes the goal of integration of the Indian child into the broader community, how the program assists the child to adapt from his own background to the new environment and the ways in which the program aids and assists in the social-psychological adjustment of the child.

The residential school environment is based on a white, Christian-oriented value system and the Indian child coming into this environment has to make major adjustments from his own culture.

An extensive tabular score of the important factors in the environment for the child was developed. The most significant finding from this mass of data is the similarity in the environment of the nine residential schools. While there are some differences, and these will be noted in the descriptive analysis that follows, there is a remarkable uniformity in pattern, so much so that one is forced to conclude that to the Indian child it must seem that once you have lived in one residential school you have lived in them all.

The analytic outline for institutional study lists the areas of program that were received under the section Integration - Organization of the Staff and Children in all Activities(See appendix). Some of these are dealt with in the preceding section and others are elaborated on in the chapters on Staff and 'Opinions and Attitudes'. The major factors that follow are the significant ones for this study on adaptation.

A. Sleeping Arrangement: Eight of the schools house all their children and staff in the same building. Prince Albert is the only school with a cottage plan; occupancy is limited to 24 children and staff per building.

In the main buildings of the other schools the children are housed in dormitories holding from 25 to 50 in each. In many of the dormitories, bunk beds are used because there is not adequate floor space to accommodate single beds. In the four cottages at Prince Albert there are two children per room.

Night supervision is provided by a child-care staff person who usually has a small room immediately off the dormitory. Many of the dormitories are too small to allow for storage of clothing and, in some instances, the children have to change on one floor and sleep on another.

It is sufficient to say that in all cases too many children are housed in too small a space. The standard introduced at Prince Albert is a major step in the provision of adequate accommodation.

While good maintenance and use of new equipment was evident in the bathing and toilet facilities there were, again, insufficient facilities for the numbers of children.

B. Clothing: The purchase, washing, repair and storage of clothing for several hundred children is a major operation. There was no interchange of clothing permitted between children in any of the schools with the exception of reassignment of good used clothing when a child had outgrown the garment. The clothing was assigned and numbered and each child had his number, covering everything from tooth brush to skates. Numbering is an easy method of indentification so long as it does not become a symbol of the depersonalization of the child. With the number of children under the care of one staff person, there is little doubt that the handling of the large group forces much depersonalization of the child.

Budgeting limitations require that the clothing be purchased in large quantities, thus excluding the preferable individual choice by the child of the clothing he wore. The senior students at Lebret were the only group allowed the luxury of personal choice.

Comment has already been made in the financial section of the special clothing problems of integrated students. The integrated students were the best dressed; the residential students were next and the day students, as a group, were the poorest clad.

There appeared to be adequate sports and play equipment, and the athletic teams from the schools were particularly well-dressed in appropriate uniforms and with proper equipment. Parents assumed very little responsibility for clothing. A number of the principals explained that when the children went home on visits, there was a problem about clothing. If the children wore the clothing issued at the school, they frequently returned without this clothing because of the needs of brothers or sisters. Consequently some of the schools only allowed the children to wear home the clothing they brought in or an issue of clothing other than the new clothing they had at the school. This was not true for all children or all parents but was a problem general enough to warrant attention.

C. Food: The quantity, quality and system of food preparation in the nine schools is very good. The equipment for storage, cooking and dish washing was also good, on the whole. In Marieval, there is an awkward separation between the kitchens and the storage area. Sanitation in respect to food disposal and the dress of the staff was of a high order. The dining room was supervised by staff, and both staff and children participated in the cafeteria-style serving.

In most of the schools the dining rooms were in the basement and provided less than a desirable atmosphere for eating. Tables and raw benches were archaic and resembled the caricature drawings of the poor houses and work houses of bygone days. The children cannot possibly learn table manners or good eating habits under the present system. Because of the numbers in some schools, all children could not be fed at one time, so that the boys ate at one sitting and the girls at another.

Three of the schools provided afternoon and evening snacks for the children. Five of the schools provided one snack, usually in the afternoon. One school, Punnichy, does not provide a snack at any time. Food has much meaning to the child. It's a basic human need and for the child is usually associated with mother. To provide a balanced diet only is to deny the psychological importance of the ritual of eating to the child.

D. Religious Education: There is a stress on religious education in all of the residential schools, as one would expect. The educational program includes provision for a half-hour period of religious instruction each day. Five schools use this daily period in this way, four schools do not formally schedule it but attempt to use a variety of methods to instruct the children.

There is a shift away from required attendance at daily mass or services and an attempt to develop a desire on the part of the child to participate voluntarily. Sunday services are compulsory and the majority of the children attend either within the school or at the mission church associated with the school.

Religious training of the child is less obviously an evangelizing approach now than it was historically and is seen more routinely as a further dimension of education.

For the clergy there is a conflict between their calling and the role of principal or administrator of a government-owned institution. This is not to suggest that the roles of priest and administrator are mutually exclusive but to record that there appeared to be an area of problem in rôle dilution. The Branch officials appeared to see the administrative rôle as primary and not to take full account of the priestly role. Similarily, in staff relations, it was necessary for most of the principals to have available a spiritual advisor other than themselves for the staff, because of the authority they carried as administrators.

In one part of the questionnaire administered to the children they were asked to list "What the residential school has taught me". Only six of the 354 children made any mention of religion and these were all males; four from Onion Lake, and one each from Lestock and Marieval.

In another question dealing with occupational choice, only three males selected a religious vocation. It is striking that in an atmosphere of high religious orientation, the children do not seem to be identifying themselves with the religion. The summer period when the children returned to the reserve was accepted as a period of almost complete inactivity in the practice of their religious duties. Many of the Church representatives and the principals are debating the appropriateness of continued involvement and whether the Church has become too institutionalized in the residential setting. It is sufficient at this point in the report to note this rethinking on the rôle of the churches in this work.

E. Academic Program: There was no attempt to evaluate the academic program of the residential schools, however there are a number of descriptive comments which should be made to indicate how this function of the program operates. As indicated earlier the physical set-up for the classroom teaching was generally of a very high order. There were some exceptions; a log cabin for a classroom at Onion Lake, overcrowding in classrooms at Lestock and the deep concern for updating the facilities at Lebret for a modern high school program. Children attended classes with members of the opposite sex. In four schools the academic program served both residential and day students, three schools served residential students and had students going out to the community on an integrated basis.

Punnichy had residential, day and integrated students and Beauval had residential students only.

The program of study is academic with no vocational training except that woodworking and domestic science classes are scheduled for the older boys and girls a half a day a week. A special class for retarded children is conducted at Marieval and there is special work in kindergarten classes to assist the beginners in language development in English. Various enrichment courses in English and an emphasis on relating course content to the Indian culture are imaginative and indicate progress in making the educational experience meaningful for the Indian child. The schools follow the normal provincial curriculum and inspection of the program is carried out by the provincial Department of Education. The school year corresponds in time to the provincial education calendar.

The classes averaged approximately twenty-five children. There were some combined classes, but on the whole the teaching of the children appeared to be a well-ordered and operating part of the program. In conversation with many teachers, the project director was impressed with their dedication, their enjoyment of teaching the Indian child and the excellent rapport they had developed with the children. The teaching sisters in particular exhibited the tremendous devotion and interest plus high academic attainments, which have been a hallmark of their Orders.

While there were a number of outstanding lay teachers, the isolation of many of the schools seemed to contribute to a higher turnover and consequently the employment of younger, less experienced teachers.

The attendance of children in school presented little or no problem for either the residential or the integrated students. The routine of the institution did not allow for much decision on the child's part. He attended. The day students presented a totally different problem with one school reporting average attendance as low as 50% for some day students. At Punnichy, for example, thirty-one day students missed a total of 124 days in a twenty-one day school month. Other schools reported a 75% - 80% attendance record for day students. The interest and effort put forth by the bus drivers in rounding up day students, of stopping at the door when children were missing to find out why and encourage parents to send their children, is a fine example of a plus interest in the job.

The drop-out pattern was highest amongst the day pupils, although some residential students home on Christmas leave failed to return. The number of students expelled during the year was exceedingly small considering the number of children involved.

As a final note on the academic program, there are some very severe limitations on day students in the home environment towards achieving an education. Many homes do not have electric power; there is the absence of privacy which homework study demands. In some homes the children do not receive breakfast before attending classes, and there is the absence of reading material, - even newspapers, - in some homes. The home must provide a base for stimulation of the child if learning is to be maximized. The de-stimulating effect of some of the homes of Indian children poses a real problem. In the report on the graduates of residential schools there is the additional picture presented of tension for the child, between the demands for further education and training to participate in the broader Canadian society, and the pull back to reserves where education beyond a grade school level may be suspect.

F. Recreation: The residential schools place considerable emphasis on organized sports. Hockey, baseball and track teams regularly compete in organized leagues with the surrounding community. The number of trophies in evidence at the schools attest to the success of the teams in sports. The boys dominated in this field and there was no little unrest among the girls because the program had many more interesting outlets for the boys.

The schools had good outdoor playground and sports equipment. The need for gymnasiums was given high priority by those principals who did not have one. The indoor play area was far too limited. Various activities were unique to certain institutions such as the Beauval Indian Boys' Choir and curling rinks at two of the schools. Integrated students were encouraged to participate on teams at the schools they attended.

There was a real emphasis on the sports program partly because the children loved to participate and also because it was seen as a healthy outlet for adolescents.

G. Student Government: There was no organized activity in student government. Since the majority of the children were under 16 years and below the Grade 8 level, it was felt not to be workable. There was mention of spontaneous activity by the children in developing concerts and deciding on special events such as a picnic. It was not apparent whether the schools had attempted a student government program and failed or whether they felt it to be unworkable and made no effort to develop it. The important point is that there are limits of sophistication and degrees of responsibility that can be developed in assisting the children to have some participation in the events of the residential school life. The planning and arrangements for social and sports events have proven to be excellent starting points in having the children assume a rôle in their own affairs.

It is a slower method of getting things done but the involvement is an important part of learning for the children. There is room for creative development in this part of the program.

H. Vacations and Visits: The children remain in the residential school for a ten-month period and return home for the summer period. The issue of care and custody in the chapter on Legal Status has already focussed on certain issues in respect to vacations in the summer. Most of the children return to their homes for the Christmas period. These are the two main vacation periods in the year. Parents are expected to contribute towards the transportation cost of the Christmas vacation.

The practice of week-end visits to the home was not prevalent in the schools. Some children were granted permission to have week-ends at home if they lived nearby and if the parents had cooperated in returning the children on time on Sunday. As a general rule, this was not encouraged. In the section on clothing, reference was made to problems encountered each time children went home and came back. The attitude seemed to be, on the part of the schools, that it wasn't worth the trouble. There was also a concern for the moral welfare of the older students who returned to the reserve on visits, and this was expressed in terms of drinking and sexual experiences.

Parental visiting, while not discouraged, is not as active as one would expect. Some parents visit regularly while the majority never do. Visiting hours are usually set as Sunday afternoon although this is flexible, and parents are not turned away unless they have been drinking. Letters, a very important link for the child, are irregular from most of the parents.

The important fact that emerges in this is the absence of any vital, continuing and frequent communication between the child and his parents. Rather than stimulating and fostering a greater degree of participation the general attitude is laissez-faire. Indeed, while no one expressed hostility to the parents, the conviction seemed to be that they upset the child and were a disturbing influence in the routine of the system. The report that parental visits had an upsetting effect on the child should be considered as the reader studies the next section on Control of Children. It is a signal that the Indian child responds emotionally and with his whole self to the familiar and secure areas of his life.

I. Extra-Curricular Activities: While the program of the residential school must include certain essentials such as classroom instruction, sleeping, eating, attending church and recreation, it is important to report on the extra events that break into the routine schedule to offer a relief from the day-to-day activity and become special to the children.

A formula has been worked out to determine the amount for this activity of the grant, but simply expressed it averages twenty dollars per child per year. Film rental, extra sports equipment, and transportation costs to special events are major expenditures in this part of the budget.

Some of the extra-curricular activities which impressed the project director were: choirs, figure skating, handcrafts, curling, visits to the urban centres, square dancing and winter carnivals. As commendable as these activities were, there was a tremendous scope for more involvement of the majority of the students and creativity in the development of new activities. A valid comment was made that some students had a time problem to meet all of the activities that they now have scheduled. These include a regular academic program, with the required evening study, activities associated with the town schools they attend and some participation in the life of the residential school program. While this appeared to be a reality for the older integrated students, it is not true of the majority of pupils in the residential setting.

Children with special talents in sports or singing again appeared to be favoured and had opportunities for interesting extra-curricular activities. The remainder, and these are the majority of the children and particularly the girls, - do need to have their experience enriched in this regard.

There is the need to recognize that this type of activity, whether it be groups such as Scouts or Guides, hobby craft, ceramics, woodworking, sewing, trips to the city, choral societies, drama or whatever, requires skilled adult leadership and adequate funds to pursue. There is the opportunity through the extra-curricular activities to bring the community into the residential school as well as to have the child go out. There is little doubt that one of the best public relations means the schools have used has been the children's choirs, dancers, bands and participation in sports.

There is awareness that much more can and should be done to enrich the extra-curricular program. A person with special training in directing this whole area of the program would be a wise investment for the residential school. Present full-time staff with special talents could be involved and augmented by part-time staff and volunteers, recruited from the community.

6. Control of Children

The control of children is an important factor in the climate of an institution. The crises that arise from time to time in the administration of a facility with large numbers of children more often than not have their root cause in the methods and approach to control.

The word discipline is avoided in this disucssion because the word has been too often corrupted to equate with punishment. There is a wide range in viewpoints amongst the principals of residential schools in Canada on this point. The subject was thoroughly debated at the Elliot Lake conference early in 1966. While the Canadian pattern is representative of extremes of authoritarianism and permissiveness, there was not within the nine schools in Saskatchewan the extreme fluctuations. It is the view of the project director that Duck Lake, Lestock, Kamsack and Prince Albert represented a stronger authoritarian line in control of children and Marieval, Lebret, Punnichy and Beauval, a less authoritarian approach. Some indications of this are the separation of the children by sex in activities, the concept of the tasks they were to perform which the child care staff had, and the participation of the students in planning activities. This is not to suggest that one group of schools is operated better than another but that there is a difference in their approach to control of children.

Corporal punishment is used in eight of the nine schools but the occasions are rare. Frequent runaways, attacking a staff member and theft were the major offences that resulted in a strapping. In all schools this was rigidly controlled by the principal who alone had authority to authorize or administer the strapping.

It would be unusual if incidents between staff and children didn't erupt, and indeed they do; there is, however, a very clear directive on the matter of corporal punishment. Denial of privileges to individuals was the most frequently used method of punishment. Loss of group privileges was the next most frequent method of punishment. The use of isolation was rare. No school used loss of meals as a punishment. It is important in a system that uses privileges as a major factor in control of children that there be a wide variety of privileges available to the child and the group. If a Saturday night movie is the one outstanding activity in the week, then denial of this for the child or the group is a very severe punishment indeed. Assignment of extra household chores was used in some schools and the principals felt that this offered a better type of experience for the child; it was tangible, of set duration and over with soon. The involvement of the principals in counselling the children and staff individually and together when control problems arose is to be commended.

The major impression in respect to control of children is that the residential schools had very little trouble in this area. Indeed, the project director was disturbed that in a group of 1612 children, control problems were so minimal. In terms of the consistency with which this was reported, it must be concluded that the reports were accurate. But why?

Given a similar number of white children, the control problems would have been ten-fold those reported in the nine schools.

Cultural differences was the common explanation given. Indian children are easier to handle. To a degree it is possible to accept this explanation but it does raise very serious questions that may shed some light on the adaptation and adjustment of the Indian child. The cultural difference of child-rearing habits between the Indian and white culture suggest that the Indian parent is more permissive in his handling of the child. In the process of admission of the child, there is not the preparation and help given that would enable the child easily to move from the reserve to the residential school. Why then does not the child rebel against the regimentation of the school? One other explanation given was that the Indian loves order and structured situations, that they are more comfortable when they are dependent and someone else makes the decisions. This informant suggested that the Indian makes a good soldier for this reason. The project director does not accept this interpretation for the children. Indeed it is the system, the highly organized structures of the long-established residential school that forces him to submit: the routines repeated a thousand times over of a bath, head rub, issue of clothing, assignment in a group, the routine of eating, sleeping, playing, going to school, all highly organized which leads to conformity.

It is conformity which is only a veneer for many Indian children, and because it is a veneer there is the appearance of adaptation and adjustment. It is an adaptation and adjustment to the residential system rather an internalization of a new value system.

The criticism is then not with what the staff overtly do to children but rather what they don't do for them. The staff must be sensitive and trained to the bridging rôle that they are to play between two cultures, if they are to penetrate with the child beyond the stage of conformity.

CONCLUSION

The crux of the issue, reflected in this tremendously high degree of conformity and submission to authority on the part of the Indian child, is whether emotionally he has ever moved into the residential school. Considering the lack of individualization in the program, how could a child be expected to adapt and adjust to an alien cultural system? The answer is obvious - he can't! This reflects more accurately the state of the majority of Indian children in residential schools of the traditional type. Some children do make it in spite of the system. Factors such as parental support, special interest of a staff member, or special talents of the child can make the difference in individual cases. The concern is that the over-all system appears to have this effect on the majority.

CHAPTER VI

THE STAFF

This chapter will report on the staff of the Indian residential schools. In addition to the information supplied by the principals on job classifications and number of staff, was a simple questionnaire circulated to the staff on a voluntary basis. Besides rendering much useful information the staff questionnaire served as a tangible expression of interest on the part of the project team with the attitudes and concerns of the staff. The number of staff positions listed by the principals numbered 331. A total of 223 staff members responded to the questionnaire.

In addition to participating in two conferences with all the principals, and the direct observation of many staff on the job during the study, the project director had the opportunity of participating in the 1966 Staff Training Institute for residential school staff in August of 1966. From these various discussions, the data obtained in the study itself and the staff questionnaire, the material in this chapter has been assembled. The following table gives the Indian - white breakdown and the job classification of staff in the Indian residential schools.

Indian-white Breakdown, and Job Classification of Staff - Table 40

Job Classification	Indian	White	Total
Housekeeper & Maintenance	57	96	153
Teacher	5	81	86
Child Care Staff	15	48	63
Administrators	0	29	29
Total	77	254	331

All of the positions are included under one of the four job classifications in the table. The most generic classification is the Housekeeper and Maintenance one and includes all of the positions not specifically covered in the other three groupings such as cooks, seamstress, bus driver, maids, maintenance engineer, watchman and maintenance man. The teachers include the senior teacher and a combination of part-time teachers who are taken together to represent the equivalent of a position, thus the 86 teachers are 86 full-time teaching positions and represent more individuals because some are employed only part-time. This rule applies to all the job classifications. The administrators also include missionaries who act as assistant principals, lay assistant principals and chief matrons.

1. Indian Staff

There are 77 staff positions of the 331 total, filled by Indians. The Indian staff are heavily represented in the housekeeper and maintenance classification but only nominally in the child care and teaching positions. There are no Indian staff in the administrative classification. To the Indian child the important positions are almost always filled by whites and Indians do the lower status work. It is suggested that this stratification of role by racial lines can create a negative rôle image of the adult Indian for the Indian child. While the residential schools did offer employment for approximately 77 adult Indians, this presented certain problems to the administration.

In one school the principal reported that he had difficulty disciplining any of his Indian staff because they were all related and if you offended one, you offended them all. In another school, the principal reported on the pressures the Indian staff members faced from the reserve and the name-calling they had to endure. He reported that once a year one of his Indian staff had to come in drunk and tell him off "good", apparently so that he could convey this to his friends on the reserve. In another school the male Indian staff seemed to have been employed as a reward for overcoming drinking problems.

The project director was impressed with the sincere interest of many of the Indian staff and with the rapport they had with the children. There seemed to be little doubt however that many were under considerable pressures because they were holding employment positions that were all too scarce to others on the reserve.

2. Administrators

In the main the administrators and their assistants were priests, (Prince Albert and Gordon were exceptions in that they had lay assistants). Their duties included the overall administration of the staff, daily living and academic programs. They were responsible for budgeting and purchasing. The employment of the non-teaching staff was their responsibility. The contacts with Indian parents, branch personnel and various community relations were carried out by the principals. It is not possible to list completely the variety of tasks they performed. The handling of money consumed a great deal of the principal's time. The project director was struck by the number of occasions in different schools when the principal was interrupted for a financial transaction.

It should be observed that they were on call for emergencies twenty-four hours a day and that the care of the children was officially entrusted into their hands.

They were expected to handle the discipline and to offer useful guidance and counsel to the children as well as the staff. In a real sense the 'tone' or 'climate' of the residential school was set by the personality, attitude, interest and over-all philosophy of the principal.

The principals found that their time has been more and more concerned with detail and reports and that they were becoming further removed from the day-to-day program. However, the project director was impressed with their knowledge of individual children and the positive way in which the children related to the principals and the other administrative personnel.

The educational background of the principals was mainly in the field of theology and philosophy. Some had academic training for the classroom. Some had courses in psychology. They expressed a general lack in their training in child development, counselling and institutional administration. This accounted in part for the lack of innovation and the degree of sameness in the administrations. The principals were more inclined to run a 'tight ship' than to risk upset or controversy with new approaches. Certainly the physical plant, the limited staff resources and uniform budget items are a factor in the sameness but there was an absence of creative program and experimentation.

The assistant principals were either missionaries who stood in for the principal in his absence but who mainly concerned themselves with the spiritual needs of the families on the reserve, or were younger men in training in institutional administration. In some schools they assisted directly in the administrative detail and developed useful procedures such as the Rating Scale of students in Duck Lake,

The chief matron performed a host of functions in supervising the housekeeping staff and the kitchen. She was a key figure in the institution and handled a multitude of daily crises as well as directing staff. Both lay and religious women filled this post in the various institutions. The demands on their time in excess of the eight-hour day were very considerable.

3. Teachers

There were a total of 86 teaching positions in the nine schools. The study did not attempt to evaluate the quality of the classroom program or the competence of the teachers. In the chapter of administrative aspects a section is devoted to the academic program. The teachers are appointed by the Branch in consultation with the principal of the schools. There appeared to be some history of friction in the responsibility of the senior teachers to the principal but if this problem was current it was not expressed during the study.

The project director was impressed with the degree of clarity between the principal and the senior teacher and from what could be observed there was a good relationship in all instances. The teachers rated a much higher status in the residential schools than did the supervisors of the children. This was evidenced in salary, living accommodation provided, hours and days worked and the strength of the teachers' professional association. The classroom blocks were modern, the classroom equipment generally very adequate. The most perturbed teaching staff was at the Lebret school and the project director met for several hours with the staff at the school to discuss their viewpoint on the integration question and their recommendations for the future of the Lebret high school. Their views are contained in the next chapter on attitudes and opinions. The qualifications and dedication of the religious as teachers provided a real bonus to the over-all teaching competence. Isolation and the general shortage of qualified teachers presents a real recruitment challenge to the Branch in manning the classrooms with lay staff. There has developed however an 'espirit de corp' among teachers in Indian schools, enhanced by their association which seems to provide a needed sense of belonging to a special group.

4. The Child Care Staff

This group is referred to in the residential schools as supervisors. Even in the designation of the group as supervisors, there is a negative connotation, suggesting that their main function is control. The more acceptable terms for this position are 'child care worker' or 'group counsellor'. There are 63 positions as compared to 86 teaching positions. The child-staff ratio for this group was 30 children to one staff member and this was reduced in the spring to 25 children to one staff member. The child care staff have a broken shift during the day with responsibilities during the periods before and after school, at meal times, during the evening program and at bed time. Many of the child care staff slept in rooms off the dormitory of the group they supervised and were responsible for the children at night. Their hours of work were quoted as from sixty to eighty hours a week. When they had a day off it meant a doubling up for other child care staff. Although the budget allowed for a child care staff person for every 25 children, in reality these staff members had at times a much larger group of children in their care, because there was no relief staff available when a staff member had a day off or was sick.

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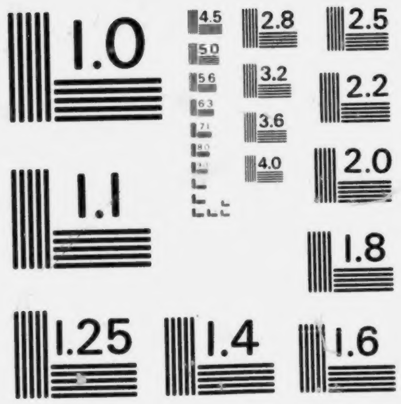
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MICROCOPY RESOLUTION TEST CHART
NATIONAL BUREAU OF STANDARDS-1963-A

The child care staff member stands in the place of the child's parent in the residential school. It is a great responsibility to carry the day-to-day responsibility of caring for other people's children. They direct his getting up, dressing, feeding, his play and discipline. They are on the spot to handle his problems and share his good moments. More than this, the child through placement has lost the normal models of father and mother from whom he learns what men and women are like. The child care staff become substitute models for the child. He imitates both their good and bad habits and copies their ideas about life.

The key to meeting the needs of the child in residential placement rests very much on the child care staff. The two qualities which summarize the best a child care worker can bring to his work are understanding and respect for the child. The child care staff person must know his child, observe and listen if he is to be truly helpful. With a large group, this is not possible. The child, instead of being approached as an individual, becomes a number to be counted - to be controlled. This is the failing of the daily living program in the residential school: the lack of individualization of the child.

While the range of personnel who carry the child care function included the warm, understanding child-focussed person, there are those to whom the work is only a job and the hours are too long and the pay insufficient. The project director was more impressed with the female child care staff as a group than the males. This may be partially explained by the rôle of the child care person resembling more a mother's function in the home than a father's function. In the Prince Albert programme where several married couples are employed, there appears to be a good working relationship and division of labour. Several principals felt that employing young single Indian men as boys' supervisors created problems. The age differential between the staff and older boys was one factor but the problem of group control was also present.

5. Staff Education and Training

The education and training of the residential school staff is reflected in the following table. There were 219 of the staff who answered questions related to this factor, out of 331 total staff.

Education and Occupation of Staff of Nine Residential Schools in Saskatchewan - Table 41

Education	Administration	Housekeeper & Maintenance	Teachers	Child Care	Total
University Graduation	4		4	1	9
University Courses	2		16	1	19
Special Training	5	3	14	8	30
High School Completed		8	7	6	21
Grade 10 or 11 Completed	1	14		13	28
Grade 8 or 9 Completed	1	45		20	66
Less than Grade 8		42		4	46
Total	13	112	41	53	219

The administrators and teachers score above the high school graduation line as a rule and the child care and housekeeper-maintenance staff below the high school graduation line. The most disturbing information on the table is that 24 out of 53 child care staff score below the Grade 10 level of education. The special training category includes staff training courses for residential personnel, nursing assistants' training, special teaching courses such as attendance at a summer school in some way related to upgrading the staff member in his day-to-day competence.

More than 50 per cent of the total staff responding to the questionnaire had less than high school education. This represents a considerable impact on the Indian child who is being encouraged to aspire to a high educational attainment when the models (that is, staff) do not have what is generally considered the minimum educational standard (high school graduation). Because of the nature of an institution, all of the staff whether they be the cook, the laundry worker, maintenance man or bus driver, have an impact on the children.

Staff training and staff development is a responsibility of administration. Some of the schools have regular staff meetings but this is not general. There was considerable reliance on a one-week supervisors' training course held during the summer. This was not a regular event although a training session was held in August of 1966 in Prince Albert.

It was organized by the newly formed principals' association and financed by the Branch. As commendable as an effort of this kind is, it is no substitute for the in-service training of staff in the institution itself.

Some components of such an in-service staff training course include (a) adequate staff supervision beginning on the day the staff member becomes an employee (this involves the employment of a chief child care worker who is qualified to supervise staff and administer the daily living program, a function quite distinct from the chief matron who is responsible for housekeeping details, (b) regular and planned teaching sessions on child development, group dynamics, institutional living, counselling, control of children and program planning, (c) regular evaluations of the staff member helping him to strengthen his talents as a child care worker and to recognize areas of limitations in his approach, (d) outside courses that may be in the nature of academic upgrading, special meetings or lectures on subjects related to the institutional care of children.

These are only a beginning of the possibilities for staff development and training in the institutional setting. There will be a number of side effects that the administration must expect. As the staff and, in particular the child care staff become more knowledgeable about the scope of their rôle and more directly concerned with the individual child, pressures will arise to reduce the ratio of staff to children, so that more can be accomplished. As they become more involved with the child the sheer physical exhaustion of meeting the child's needs will demand a normal work week. As training and competence improve, the expectation for recognition in increased salaries will become apparent. However, if the program of staff development is clearly related to improved working standards, there is an excellent possibility to greatly improve the service given.

6. Length of Service

A further question on the staff questionnaire dealt with length of service. Out of 181 replies the spread from under a year to over thirty years was fairly well distributed - 55 had under two years' service -- 85 between two to ten years and 41 over ten years' service.

The presence of the religious in these figures tends to give them an unwarranted stability in terms of length of service. On the other hand, there is emerging a rudimentary formulation for a career line in work with Indian children among the non-religious staff at all levels.

A Policy Issue

There is increasing pressure, because of recent legislation such as the Federal Labour Code, Federal Minimum Wage legislation and union activity amongst non-teaching staff, to determine clearly the status of non-teaching employees in the Indian residential schools. The policy issue arises as to whether they should become civil servants of the federal government.

The benefits of this approach are considered to be substantial to the employee in such areas as salaries, hours of work, sick leave, death benefit, superannuation and general working conditions. On the negative side would be the loss of authority the churches now possess in operating the schools. There is additional concern for the Christian atmosphere of the schools,which is maintained by the churches selecting dedicated staff of their denomination but which would not necessarily pertain in a system where employees were appointed by the public service authority.

The other alternative would be a return to a system of grants to the churches in support of their operating a residential school. The grant system clearly establishes the churches as employers. The employees could then choose their own union to best represent their interests.

Two major problems emerge in a return to the grant system. It assumes the churches are putting some major financial contribution into the residential schools and the grant is a subsidy or a grant in aid of a service. This is not the case, as the schools are owned by the Crown and the churches make no significant financial contribution to their support. The second objection is that there are approximately 1200 employees involved in various job classifications and the churches are not likely to welcome labour disputes, long contractual negotiations and the entire spectrum of modern employer-employee relationships.

In stating the policy problem that must be faced by the Branch and the Churches, the project director is led to once again emphasize that the residential school system itself is the core issue and that the solutions recommended must take into account the priority of the child's needs.

The confrontation that this policy issue creates is basic and is the outcome of the shift from the churches' responsibility to the more dominant role of the Branch. In modern day employer-employee relations, no employer can traffic on the dedication and loyalty of staff to sustain poor wages, long hours of work, poor working conditions and the absence of employee benefits.

Further, the matter of the accountability the Branch has for large expenditures of government funds is less direct and certain under a grant system. There is a period of transition while the changes in program and resources are developed, and the church should offer a caretaker management of the residential schools during this transition. However, the churches should look to the development of urban hostels as the more appropriate area of service.

In the development of urban hostels, the church would be moving into an area of direct service to the older Indian child. It should be possible for the churches to borrow the capital funds necessary to construct the hostels, or to buy or rent existing homes which could be used as hostels. A network of these would be established in a city and could be administered by the responsible church. House parents would be employed as well as additional staff and the church officers would carry an advisory, consultant role on administration and the spiritual welfare of the students.

The admission policy to the hostel would be determined jointly by the Church and Branch for those students coming to the urban area for continuing education, upgrading, job training and beginning employment.

In respect to older children who would be under the supervision of the child welfare authority in the province, admission of these children would be determined jointly by the Church and the child welfare authority. Both the province and the Branch would in effect purchase services from the church for this group of older children. The church would build, buy or rent the resource, employ the houseparents and other staff necessary, either employ or contract for specialized services needed and generally operate the program.

The introduction of standards, evaluation and licensing would assure all three bodies that the hostels were operating according to sound practices. The churches would establish a per diem rate sufficient to retire the mortgage incurred in constructing a new hostel or buying and remodeling an existing building, and sufficient to cover the operational costs of the hostel. Included in the operational costs would be an upgrading of salaries, employee benefits such as sick leave and retirement, staff development and the general overall administrative costs to the Church.

CHAPTER VII

ATTITUDES AND OPINIONS

It is important to round out the picture of residential schools by recording some of the major current attitudes and opinions expressed by those close to the system. The first such group are the students who have been through the system and are now living either on the reserve or in the urban centres. While they have been listed as graduates of the system, some did not in fact complete the grade eight level which is the highest grade taught in most of the residential schools in Saskatchewan.

1. The Sample

It was decided to obtain a list of graduates for the past five years from the quarterly returns prepared by the Branch. Through a careful analysis of the records in the Saskatchewan Regional office of the Indian Affairs Branch, a list of 588 potential respondents was gathered. Statistical charts from the records in the office were then used to identify each potential respondent's agency, reserve, band number, birthdate, sex, marital status and latest address. The goal was to obtain a sampling of this group of respondents and it was agreed that 75 interviews would provide this.

Several factors forced the decision to attempt a numerical goal in the number of interviews rather than attempting a random sampling or some sophisticated sampling technique. The mobility of this age group was a first consideration, and this mobility is increased during the summer period, so that availability of respondents was a determining factor. Further it was felt important that the study reflect attitudes and opinions of graduates who were residing in the urban setting as well as those who were living on the reserve. Forty-five respondents were on the reserve and thirty in the cities. In total 41 women and 34 men were interviewed. It should be carefully understood that the responses of those selected graduates were only an indication of some of the problems, as perceived by the general Indian population.

2. The Interview Schedule and Procedure

This schedule of questions for the graduates was designed to match the subject areas covered by the Children's Questionnaire. In some instances identical questions were used on both. The main area of inquiry was their educational and occupational records, occupational aspirations including job level or type and job location. Questions were introduced to gather data on their attitudes towards their residential school experience.

The assistance of a number of resource persons was obtained in the method of approach to the individual so that the miximum benefit could be obtained by the contact. There appeared to be no set pattern either in protocol when the staff person went on the reserve or in special techniques which would help to overcome cultural differences. The one suggestion which did in fact prove most helpful was the use of group interviewing with two or three respondents. It was necessary to experiment with several approaches to determine which one appeared to yield the most useful data. It quickly became apparent to the interviewers that in a direct interview situation there were inhibitions on the part of the young people, lack of responses and anxiety over the transcribing of conversations by the interviewer. It was found useful to give the person being interviewed a copy of the schedule to read along with the interviews. By sharing in the experience in this way and with plenty of reassurance that they could add or delete comments at the end, the interviews proceeded fairly successfully. Of the 75 interviews, 23 were respondents in a group of two or three persons. This inconsistency in the administration of the schedule was a positive attempt to adapt the process of the interview to cultural variations. It was inevitable that in some cases the group interviews tended to produce a 'group response' strongly influenced by the dominant person in the group.

The major concern in the data collection from the graduates, and this was evident with the children also, is the superficiality of most of the responses. The difficulty remains for these young people in perceiving the real issues and concerns. Part of the difficulty is undoubtedly due to the problems the Indians have in articulating these issues but there is the further major drawback of unfamiliarity with the culture.

3. Results of the Questionnaire

The following information was collected on the background, occupations and attitudes of the graduates.

A. Family Background: The school type, educational level and present location of the parents of the graduates was obtained. The following summarizes the findings.

School Type	Mothers	Fathers	Total
Residential	55	51	106
Day	6	12	18
Integrated	6	3	9
No school	5	4	9
"Don't know"	3	6	9
Total	75	75	150

Educational Level	Mothers	Fathers	Total
Grade 8 or less	55	53	108
Some High School	6	6	12
High School graduate	1	0	1
No school	5	4	9
"Don't know"	8	12	20
Total	75	75	150

The parents of the graduates again showed the same pattern as the parents of the children in the residential school in respect to two-thirds having attended residential school themselves. The educational level of both parents was similar to the previous finding in that it was predominantly at the Grade 8 or less level. Only one mother had in fact completed high school. Only 8 of the families were residing in an urban area. In 61 cases the parents were residing on an Indian reserve, in 5 cases the parents lived in a rural area near the reserve and 1 respondent did not know where his parents were.

B. Educational Background of the Graduates: Since all the graduates shared the common experience of attending residential schools, the reason for their admission proved interesting. There were 58 who stated that education was the reason they went, 9 stated that a welfare reason resulted in their admission, 3 stated religion and 5 did not know. It is possible that some thought education was the reason although the central factor may have been welfare, or the figures may reflect a reluctance to state a 'welfare reason'. Considering the concern expressed in the report on the admission policy and procedures it is useful to observe the wide divergence between the answers given by the graduates as to their reason for admission and the over-all dominance of welfare reasons recorded on the admission form.

Educational Level of the Graduates, by Sex
Table 42

Educational Level	Male	Female	Total
Grade 8 or less	9	12	21
Some High School	19	18	37
High School graduate	2	5	7
Some college	0	2	2
Extra job training	4	4	8
Total	34	41	75

This table must be evaluated along with the fact that 17 of the graduates are still attending high school. The most optimistic assumption would place the 17 with those who might be expected to complete high school, get extra job training or attend college. This would render a group of 34 out of 75 graduates who might be regarded as making reasonable educational progress but it also renders a group of 41 who have not completed high school and are not progressing any further in acquiring more education or job training. Further enquiry into the reasons for leaving school revealed that 46 had in fact dropped out; 5 of the 8 taking extra job training did not complete high school. The reason quoted by 29 of the 46 who had dropped out was that they didn't like school. This was elaborated to mean that they had trouble with the discipline, attendance, the academic work or didn't like the teachers. A total of 15 stated that there were family problems that forced them to stop and this was elaborated to mean mainly the financial need of the family to have them make a contribution through working.

In two cases, both girls, they became lonesome in the urban setting and wanted to return to the reserve. The reasons listed for dropping out of school strongly point to the need for a more intensive school guidance and counselling program for Indian youth. The typical pattern was an adolescent boy with a partial Grade 8 who says he wants to be a mechanic. He has been out of school a year (he quit because he didn't like it) and he has been working for different farmers a few days at a time. He has been unemployed about half the time. If you ask him if he'll be able to do what he wants, he most often says yes, he doesn't see why not, he can go back to school if he wants and take an upgrading course. He's not sure what education you need to be a mechanic, but heard from a friend that he could take an upgrading course. When asked if he is going to do it, he says he's been thinking about it, but hasn't asked anyone yet. Maybe he should go to an Indian Affairs Counsellor and ask about it the next time he goes to town. A school guidance program that was geared to reach out to these youth on the reserves, to follow up and patiently counsel them is urgently needed. The number of counsellors available have their hands full supervising the students who are motivated, so that the hard-to-reach and unmotivated youth on the rural reserve is left out. Too often for this youth the 'bloom of interest', the feeling that "maybe I could become a mechanic", soon fades and disappears.

C. Attitudes about the Residential School: The graduates were asked to express their preference between attending an integrated school and attending a residential school. Forty expressed a preference for residential schools and 31 stated that they would have preferred to attend an integrated school. Some who chose integrated over residential did express a preference for a combination; 4 students only stated a choice for day schools. Female students showed a slight preference for residential schooling.

The responses to the questions on the effect of the residential school on adaptation produced a wide variation in opinion among the graduates.

Effect of the Residential School on Adaptation of Graduates, by Sex - Table 43

Views on Adaptation	Male	Female	Total
Prepared one for adaptation to Indian culture	6	8	14
Introduced one to white world	9	10	19
Residential school produced some understanding of both cultures	9	14	23
Too isolated from Indian life for adaptation	7	6	13
Don't know	3	3	6
Total	34	41	75

Approximately one-third of the graduates felt that the residential school experience gave them some understanding of both Indian and white culture. What this table demonstrates most clearly is the cultural clash the child finds himself in as a residential student, and the variation in the impact it has on the student. Those who felt the schools were Indian-oriented recalled the influence of child care staff of Indian origin. Those who felt the schools were white-oriented recalled the influence of white child care staff. This reinforces the paramount influence that the non-teaching staff plays in the schools.

The graduates were asked to express the problems that they feel Indians have with school. The highest number, (38) more than half the group, stated that lack of parental support was the major problem. They felt strongly that Indian parents did not understand or support the need for even minimum education. Considering the discussion and comment already made on the lack of involvement of the Indian parent in the educational process, this is a dramatic commentary by the graduates of the consequences of this lack of involvement. This response by the graduates parallels the response in the Children's Questionnaire in Chapter 11. The first significant mention of discrimination came out in relation to problems with school; 14 of the graduates mention this as the biggest problem and relate it to the integrated school experience;

10 state lack of motivation; 5 isolation from the reserve; 3 isolation from the community; 2 pupil relations and 3 didn't know what the major problem was.

The graduates were asked what changes in the residential schools they would like to see. Forty-eight responded that the schools should provide more emphasis on job training. This area of getting and keeping a job was of course the primary concern to this group, but it did reflect a feeling of inadequacy with what the system had provided. There were 10 graduates who felt more emphasis should have been placed on the Indian culture, 9 who felt they should have been helped to get an integrated education and 8 who recommended program changes in the daily living or academic program.

The graduates were asked what type of schooling they would prefer for their children in the future. Two-thirds selected integrated schools because they felt it would make it easier to adapt and adjust to the white culture if the children started their education in an integrated school. Of the one-third who selected a residential school the dominant reason given was the good standard of education.

D. Present Occupation of Graduates: The graduates are divided into three categories. Thirty-seven were employed, 21 unemployed and 17 attending school. Of the 21 unemployed, 13 were females and lived at home on the reserve, 9 were mothers at home with children. There were 22 males and 15 females working. Most of the males had low level jobs. The following table gives the broad classification of the 37 employed graduates by sex.

Present Job Classification of Employed Graduates
by Sex - Table 44

Classification	Male	Female	Total
Unskilled	14	2	16
Semi-skilled	4	4	8
Skilled	1	1	2
Service	2	4	6
Professional	1	4	5
Total	22	15	37

E. Aspirations for Future Jobs: The graduates were asked about their future job aspirations, the type of job they would like to have. As with the children in residential school the females appear to have higher aspirations. The first table shows the results for the total group of 75 and the second table the results for the 17 students who are continuing their education.

Aspirations for Future Jobs of Total Sample, by Sex - Table 45

Job Classification	Male	Female	Total
Unskilled	8	1	9
Semi-skilled	7	9	16
Skilled	7	2	9
Service	4	9	13
Professional	8	18	26
Don't know	0	2	2
Total	34	41	75

Aspirations for Future Jobs of Graduates Continuing their Education, by Sex - Table 46

Job Classification	Male	Female	Total
Unskilled	1	0	1
Semi-Skilled	2	2	4
Skilled	2	0	2
Service	0	2	2
Professional	2	6	8
Total	7	10	17

The difference in level of aspiration between the females and the males remains. The girls tend to aspire toward the service and professional classifications while the majority of the boys are in the unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled groupings. Once again an inquiry was made into the expectations they had to achieve their aspirations in occupational choice. It is significant as it was in the study of the children in the residential schools, that although the females have higher aspirations, they have lower expectations of achievement.

Expectations of Achieving Occupational Aspirations of Total Sample, by Sex - Table 47

Expectations	Male	Female	Total
Positive	28	18	46
Negative	3	19	22
Don't know	3	4	7
Total	34	41	75

F. Preferred Job Location of Graduates: Two-thirds of the graduates felt that an urban location for work would be their choice. They felt the reserve lacked opportunity and 10 felt that the life on the reserve was bad. This was spelled out to mean too much drinking, no work, lack of housing and facilities. The one-third who chose the reserve as the preferred job location mentioned that their families were on the reserve. This factor influenced 16 graduates of whom 11 were females. Five stated they liked rural life and 1 expressed the hope of improving life on the reserve.

G. Perceptions of Problems Related to Work: It is possible to classify the responses of the graduates to this question into those problems that are imposed by background and Indian culture, and those problems imposed by the white culture. In two areas (lack of education and job training, and general non-specified cultural inhibitions) the problems appear to be imposed by both the Indian and white culture.

Perception of Problems Related to Work - Table 48

Problems Perceived as:	Imposed by	No. of Responses
Our people are lazy, shiftless and irresponsible	Indian culture	20
Our people lack motivation and ambition	Indian culture	16
Discrimination	white culture	10
No work available on or near the reserve	white culture	3
Lack of education and work training	Both Indian and white culture	16
General cultural inhibitions (non specified)	Both Indian and white culture	10
	Total	75

The responses show a general frustration, both with their own culture and the impact of the white culture on them. There is a stark realism in the graduates' analysis of their life situation and very little attempt to hide or project their problems.

Finally, in respect to satisfaction with their present social and occupational status, 44 felt they were satisfied, 30 were not and 1 did not know. Where they expressed an interest in more activities or involvement with white society, this was done in a qualified way. The females are much less satisfied with their present status than the males. By examining the responses it was found that the least satisfied were the low achievers both educationally and occupationally.

H. Attitudes and Opinions of Senior High Students, Lebret: A very useful discussion was held with the Grade 11 and 12 students at the Lebret Residential School. They were open, frank, anxious to talk and displayed a good sense of humour. They felt that a study of this type was excellent but wondered why it had not been done ten years ago. They felt that the phasing out program should have commenced at the primary level rather than the senior high level. They felt there was too much to adjust to at the integrated school. New teachers, new surroundings and lack of rules endangered their marks in school. The students felt that gradually the Branch would phase out the academic program in the residential schools.

Most of the students said they preferred the residential school because one did not run into the same difficulties in an integrated school. They liked the school spirit and found it easier to study when it was part of the supervised daily program. The Lebret School represented the known, as many had been there since Grade 1, and the integrated school the unknown, unfamiliar outside. They took pride in the sports achievements of the residential school. There was a dissenting opinion on the lack of freedom and the number of rules for adolescents in the residential school.

In respect to the status of the adult Indians, the students felt they should be consulted more and be more involved in planning.

They felt the Band Councils could help to play this role but were not doing so. They felt there was a definite lack of leadership in the Indian community and that as a result, the Band went along with whatever was suggested or imposed from outside.

The senior high school students felt that they would not live on the reserve after they completed their education. They felt that the Indian people tend to reject the returning professional or well educated person. Too often, they felt, the best educated ones became employees of the government and took on authoritarian attitudes.

They felt greater emphasis on education had to take place, Indian leadership had to develop, consultation between the Indian and the Branch was necessary, and adult education on the reserves was sorely needed. They spoke of co-op farms as one possible answer to the future use of the reserves, although the general consensus was that the reserve system would eventually have to be abolished. The group recognized that such a plan would bring hardship and dislocation for a time but felt if the Indians were forced to 'sink or swim' that the Indians would do something and most certainly survive.

I. Attitudes and Opinions of Indian Parents: The first observation is that no systematic gathering of data on the attitudes and opinions of Indian parents was made. There are however a number of disturbing impressions of the Indian parents and in particular their uniform lack of involvement in the residential school system. Most of the impressions are gained through the responses of the children to questions about their parents, and through general findings of the way the system operates.

Both children and graduates feel that parents are not generally supportive of the educational aspirations they have. The tradition of sending children to the residential school has been accepted as the pattern or the normal way things are done. Some parents feel the residential schools are Indian oriented and therefore are important in order to preserve the Indian culture. Others feel just the opposite and feel they do not contribute to the sustaining of Indian culture. Many Indian parents feel that they can trust the clergy who operate the schools and that they can do a better job of bringing up the child than parents can. Others want to bargain with Branch officials over whether they send their children to integrated or residential schools, and are concerned with what they can get out of it for themselves. They are aware that it is a period of transition moving towards integration, thus if they cooperate and send their children to integrated schools, what are the tangible rewards?

Many adult Indians who have been educated in residential schools report very different experiences. To some it offered a real opportunity and they were able to use the experience positively and move on to responsible positions in the Indian and white community. To others it was a negative experience and the recital of events that turned them against residential schools is a reflection of the historic pattern of poorly equipped, inadequately financed institutions with harsh discipline, use of child labour and second class status for the Indian. It is important to realize that the residential schools of a generation ago were quite different from the ones in current operation.

SUMMARY

In this chapter a report has been made of the attitudes and opinions of three groups: graduates over the past five years; senior students at Lebret, and some parents. These attitudes and opinions help to round out the picture because they reflect the viewpoints of those now outside the system of residential schools but with first hand experience with it. It is also important to emphasize that these are all Indians. They recognize the transition that is taking place and react in varying degrees of intensity in support of or against the change.

Some of the solutions they suggest such as the abolition of reserves are dramatic, but they make clear the fact that Indian youth are seeking new means to help their people. Their call for leadership amongst Indians suggests that they see an important future role for themselves to help raise the standards and conditions of their own people. The inter-generational tension between the youth and the older Indian resembles the classic struggle of many groups who are going through a period of transition.

CHAPTER VIII

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Admissions

A. The admission process whereby the child is admitted to a residential school is inadequate. There is a serious absence of recorded data on the child and the reason for admission is open to question because of this lack of information.

It is recommended that admission policy and procedures be revamped and be professionally determined to restrict institutional care to children who need and could benefit by a form of supervised and institutional care for a definite period.

B. The reasons given for the admission of 80% of the children in eight of the residential schools, and 60% of the total population of the nine schools in Saskatchewan, is related to the welfare need of the family. There is no evidence of preventive or rehabilitative services operating to serve the family.

It is recommended that family and child welfare services be established to aid and assist Indian families, and that these services be provided by the Child Welfare Division of the provincial Department of Public Welfare under the agreement in Part 2 of the Canada Assistance Act of the Parliament of Canada.

Provision of family and child welfare services should not be restricted to the narrow definition of investigating allegations or evidence of neglect of children, but recognition should be given to prevention of family deterioration, and professional services given to strengthen and maintain family life. In families where protection of children is an issue, all of the resources and authority of the child welfare legislation should be used. This would include intensive home supervision, referral to other community services for necessary services, the use of the court, temporary substitute care, foster home care, adoption and selected institutional placement. The keynote of this recommendation is that the agency will need to direct more resources and energy into services for children in their own homes and that where substitute care is required, homes in the Indian community should be helped to provide this service.

C. The legal status of the Indian child in the residential school in respect to care and custody is obscure. The removal of the child from his home by an administrative decision relieves the parent of the responsibility for the care of the child; however, the custody of the child is left in doubt, particularly when the program is structured for him to return for a two-month period in the summer. For the child whose parents are neglectful, this obscurity is serious.

It is recommended that the Indian child who must be removed from his own home for a welfare reason be handled by the Child Welfare Division in the same legal process that is now available to other children in the province who are made temporary or permanent wards of the Director of Child Welfare.

2. Adjustment

A. The personal adjustment of Indian children in residential schools is consistently lower than the norms established for the California Test of Personality. The basic adaptation of the Indian child as indicated by his personal adjustment and his educational and occupational aspirations is not generally achieved through the residential school experience.

It is recommended that in the development of services to meet the needs of the Indian child, due regard be given to cultural differences, the child's family heritage, and his uniqueness as an individual, if he is to bridge the gap between the rural Indian community and the urban white community.

B. The analysis of the variables of age, sex, pupil type and residential school attended, does not produce significant insight into variations within the child group in respect to either adaptation or personal adjustment. The effect of these findings is to clearly point to the over-all impact of the residential school system as the critical factor in the issue of poor adaptation and adjustment.

It is recommended that in further research of the Indian child population in residential schools, the organization and operation of the system itself as it affects the child would be a more fruitful area of study than the normal variables among children.

3. Program and Care

The residential school system is geared to the academic training of the child and fails to meet the total needs of the child because it fails to individualize; rather it treats him en masse in every significant activity of daily life. His sleeping, eating, recreation, academic training, spiritual training and discipline are all handled in such a regimented way as to force conformity to the institutional pattern. The absence of emphasis on the development of the individual child as a unique person is the most disturbing result of this whole system. The schools are providing a custodial care service rather than a child development service. The physical environment of the daily living aspects of the residential school is overcrowded, poorly designed, highly regimented and forces a mass approach to children. The residential school reflects a pattern of child care which was dominant in the early decades of the 20th century, a concept of combined shelter and education at the least public expense.

It is recommended that the Educational Services Division of the Indian Affairs Branch concern itself primarily with the education of Indian children and remove itself from the operation of childrens' institutions such as the present residential schools.

Considering the number of admissions to the residential schools of neglected and dependent children the Education Services Division should anticipate a future time when this burden of child care will be assumed by the provincial child welfare authorities and the role of providing education services to Indian children can become exclusively their responsibility, to work out with the provincial educational authorities. The churches should plan now to gradually withdraw from the Indian residential school field and be willing to provide a caretaker management of the resources during the period it will take the provinces to assume a full role of responsibility for the care of neglected and dependent Indian children.

4. Community Relations

The residential schools have become isolated from the Indian reserves in terms of involvement and yet do not participate very actively in the white community. They represent an island between the two cultures. The involvement of the churches in the residential school field has been so systematized that it has become a managerial function rather than a creative and dynamic force for change.

It is recommended that where children need to leave home to continue their education a number of resources be developed including:

a) well-supervised Indian foster homes,

b) well-supervised white foster homes,

c) transition centres where special emphasis will be placed on assisting the child to adapt from the Indian to the white culture,

d) hostels to provide for group care for Indian children in the urban setting.

The churches should consider the advisability of entering into agreements with the Educational Services Branch of the Indian Affairs Department respecting the development of urban hostels to provide a living arrangement for teen-age Indian pupils who are continuing their education, obtaining job training or beginning to work in the urban setting. The problems that Indian teen-age boys and girls face in the move from the rural to the urban centres suggest that a network of small hostels or group homes would serve the very great need and provide the base for the Indian youth to consolidate his sense of belonging in the urban setting. The churches as voluntary agencies should have the flexibility to experiment and develop unique approaches to assist Indian youth.

Because of the role and acceptance of the church by the community, they could provide very important services to both the Indian Affairs Branch in respect to those children needing urban accommodation and to the child welfare authorities as a placement resource for the older child who comes into care. Both of these sources of placement would be able to reimburse the church organization at a realistic per diem that would take into account the normal operational costs plus the retirement of the capital investment required for such an operation. Assuming that the required standards for such an operation were met, the church would again be master in its own house; a situation which does not prevail at the moment in the residential schools.

5. Evaluation Procedure

There is no systematic evaluation of the over-all program of the residential schools. The residential schools are inspected by the provincial education department and the Branch in respect to the academic content and teaching competence. The schools are not licensed by the provincial department of welfare as child care institutions and are not subject at present to inspection. There is an absence of written manuals of policy and procedures in the residential schools to guide principals and staff.

It is recommended that a committee undertake the task of preparing general manuals of policy and procedures for the operation of residential schools and hostels. Included in the terms of reference of this committee would be the determination of certain basic standards such as the sleeping space needed for each child, the child-staff ratio in the daily living program, types of extra curricular activities that should be available to the children, appropriate methods of control of children, parent-child visiting, the availability of counselling and guidance services to the children. It is recommended that this committee have representation from the Indian Affairs Branch, the Church officials and the newly formed Association of Principals of Indian Residential Schools and Hostels. It is further recommended that the committee have available to it the services of outside consultants. The standards that would emerge could then form the basis for a regular evaluation of the residential schools and hostels.

6. Staff

A. There is a need for a manual setting out personnel policies and practices. Some commendable work has been done but there was a distinct absence of clarity as to the future status of non-teaching employees: whether they would continue as employees of the Church or become employees of the federal government. There was the special problem of providing twenty-four hour care for children and working out hours of employment for the child care staff. Since the institutional staff are the key to the quality of program that is offered, concern must be recorded at the low educational qualifications demanded, the low status of the staff, the limited wages, the long hours and the minimum attention paid to staff development and training.

It is recommended that the non-teaching employees of the residential schools become employees of the federal government rather than continue their present status. It is further recommended that a general manual of personnel policies and practices be developed,this manual to include standards in respect to recruitment, qualifications, orientation, duties, lines of authority, salaries, hours of work, vacations, fringe benefits and staff development for the non-teaching staff in residential schools and hostels.

B. The investment in training and staff development is limited mainly to a one-week course held in the summer and attended by some of the child care staff. The day-to-day supervision of the child care staff does not possess a strong training component, and such avenues as staff meetings, lectures, films and observation trips are seldom used. Considering the very crucial role the child care staff should play in the residential school or hostel and the scarcity of formal training programs, there must be built into the residential schools and hostels program a very strong, well-organized training and staff development component.

It is recommended that the role of the chief child care worker or senior supervisor should be professionalized so that this person can teach and direct the child care staff in their function. An immediate investment in upgrading the position of chief child care worker could involve either the employment of a social worker or the investment in training costs for a staff person to take special training in a well-structured course on the institutional care of children. It is further recommended that the one-week supervisors' training course be extended to two weeks, and that it be a requisite for permanent employment. The next stage in development would be a certificate summer course in child care and in this regard the assistance of several universities or technical schools should be encouraged.

In the institution or hostel, a continuous planned program of staff development should be developed. The responsibility rests with each principal to make certain that as many aids and learning activities as can be used are available to his staff. The Branch through its regional services has available various professional staff who could assist in this important function. The use of the extension services of universities is another rich resource. Finally there must be commitment to a quality program of child care so that the new techniques and skills developed through training and staff development are appreciated and rewarded.

C. There is uncertainty on the part of staff at all levels as to what the future holds for them in employment. There is an inevitable period of frustration as the long term plans are developed but careful attention to the staff during a transitional period is necessary. Change is often resisted because of insecurity and uncertainty about the future, and staff morale can be seriously damaged.

It is recommended that communication be maintained throughout the period of transition so that the staff are kept well informed of decisions as they are taken. Wherever possible the changes introduced should be attractive and beneficial to staff and through a program of consultation, they should be encouraged to participate and cooperate.

Where a dislocation in employment results from the closure of a residential school this should be preceded by sincere efforts to assist the present staff find related employment.

7. Overcrowding

While reductions have been made in the authorized enrollment of the residential schools, there are far too many children housed in too small a space in all indoor activities. The design of the buildings as well as the space is a handicap to the development of any but a regimented mass approach to the children. The cottages developed at Prince Albert offer a very attractive design, structure and space pattern to use as a model and standard of what can and should be provided. Three schools need to be carefully assessed as to the current fire hazard, namely Kamsack, Onion Lake and Marieval.

It is recommended that where a residential school because of construction or location presents a fire hazard, the school be closed immediately. A fire marshal's report should be made of all the schools annually with a careful assessment immediately of the Kamsack, Onion Lake and Marieval schools. Any new construction program might be modeled on the Prince Albert cottage approach or the Mission City residential school complex. The Prince Albert cottages provide a model for small urban hostels while the Mission City complex provides a model for larger transitional centres.

APPENDIX 1

INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS

ANALYTIC OUTLINE FOR INSTITUTIONAL STUDY

Adaptation - Sources and Assurance of Upkeep

1. Legal status of school administration
   - relation to Branch
   - relation to Church

2. Responsibility for program - to Branch and Church; effective enforcement - supervision, machinery and effectiveness

3. Source of finance for
   - (a) ownership of land and buildings
   - (b) maintenance of plant
   - (c) educational and living programs

4. Basis of finance
   - (a) children's per diem from Branch
   - (b) flat grants or other income from Branch, Church
   - (c) conditions of eligibility for grants, per diem.

5. Protection of income sources -
   - (a) Admissions -
     - (1) what are acceptable reasons for admission or refusal
     - (2) who screens applicants
     - (3) who makes final decision on admission
     - (4) distribution of admissions, by source and category of referral.
   - (b) Community supports
     - Indian identification of the school as a cultural asset
     - Relation of school to local or provincial systems (e.g. integrated schools, training programs)
     - Location of school.

Integration - Organization of Staff and Children in All Activities

A. - Children

1. Organization of school program as it affects integration, adaptation and adjustment -
   - (a) Organization of classes
     - integrated or separate classes
     - day pupils from reserve
     - size of classes
     - sex composition of classes
     - range of ages per class

(b) Content of educational program
  - academic or vocational facilities and courses
  - duration of school year, vacations
  - comparison of Indian, white curricula
  - examination standards as applied

(c) Uses of discipline - methods and frequency

(d) Drop Out patterns
  - in the year
  - between years

2. Sleeping arrangements
   - no. of children per building
   - no. of children per room
   - night supervision arrangements

3. Clothing
   - uniform mass purchase
   - individual clothing items permitted
   - appropriateness of clothing styles

4. Food
   - no. of children per table
   - method of supervision of serving and eating
   - food served family or cafeteria style
   - use of children in kitchen
   - access to snacks
   - timing of meals

5. Religious education
   - frequency, duration and nature of religious observances
   - size of group participating

6. Recreation
   - sports, parties, at school: frequency and numbers involved
   - use of children or adults as leaders
   - visits to town
     - number involved
     - supervision
     - type of activity allowed

7. Vacations and visits
   - during school year
     - where children go
     - frequency, length of visits by or to
       (a) Indians
       (b) Whites
   - long vacations (same as above)

8. Student government, form, etc.

9. Child - staff ratio

B. Use of Staff

1. Staff numbers, by category of
   - a) job title
   - b) race
   - c) religious status

2. Qualifications, by category
   - a) job title
   - b) race
   - c) religious status

3. Staff-pupil ratio, by category
   - a) job title
   - b) race
   - c) religious status

4. Staff-pupil contacts in program areas and emotional content of contacts.

Goals

Orientations of Authority-figures (principal or other significant staff) on integration issue - for which culture are children prepared?

Two factors - a) Indians as inherently inadequate to white culture vs. ability to develop potential skills.

b) Children as necessary to continuation of schools and i.e., to church.

Views of principals on relevance or impact on integration, of all factors listed above:
- a) school program, training
- b) living programs as above

System Maintenance

Use of budget and allocation of staff resources)
)
Emphasis on program)

Compensatory action required to meet recognized sources of friction

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR SCHOOL CHILDREN

Name: ______________________________

School: ______________________________
Room No: ____________________

Please Remember:

1. To mark an answer for every question.
2. To print in your name, school and grade.
3. To mark your answers with a check (✓).

1. Your age ____________

2. Sex, Boy ____________ Girl ______________

3. Grade ____________

4. Do you plan to finish Grade 12?
Yes _____ No ______

5. How far would you like to go in school if you could?
(check one)
    a) Only until 16 years old ____________________
    b) Grade 8 ____________________
    c) Finish High School ____________________
    d) College ____________________
    e) Extra job training after High School ____________________

6. What do your father and mother think about the idea of your graduating from High School? (check one)

a) strongly urge you to continue ________

b) give you some encouragement to continue ________

c) never say much about it ________

d) feel that you would be better off going to wrok when you are 16 ________

e) feel that you should quit school before 16 ________

f) I don't know what they think ________

7. How far did your father go in school? (check one)

a) less than Grade 8 ________

b) Grade 8 ________

c) some High School ________

d) finished High School ________

e) more than High School ________

8. I believe my father's education is: (check one)

a) more than I need myself ________

b) about what I need ________

c) not as good as I will need ________

9. What type of school did he go to?
(check one)

a) Residential ____________

b) Integrated ____________

c) Indian Day School ____________

10. If you received a bad report card, would you:
(check the one that describes
your feelings)

a) Feel that you had let your parents down ____________

b) feel that you has let the school down ____________

c) not care ____________

d) feel that your friends would look down on you ____________

e) feel you let everybody down ____________

11. I think the most important things about being in a residential school are:
(check Yes or No for each
of sports, studies, etc.)

a) sports Yes: ______ No: ______

b) studies Yes: ______ No: ______

c) friends Yes: ______ No: ______

d) getting ahead (Grades) Yes: ______ No: ______

e) being captain of a team, or a leader Yes: ______ No: ______

12. What does your father do now? ______________________________

____

____

13. Would you like to do the same thing? Yes:__________ No: __________

14. Do you think you will be satisfied if you make the same amount of money as your father? Yes:__________ No: __________

15. As to the kind of job you go into, would you say your father and mother:
(check the one which is most like what your father and mother want)

a) want you to have a job that is better than the jobs your friends on the Reservation have ________

b) feel that the job you get should be as good as the jobs your friends on the Reservation have ________

c) don't worry about the kind of job you will have ________

d) have not said much about it ________

16. The following is a list of types of jobs people like to do. Which one comes closest to the job you would like?
(check one in the proper column:
boys mark their choices only under boys;
girls only under girls)

Boys		Girls	
a) Truck driver	_____	a) Typist	_____
b) Fishing guide	_____	b) Mother	_____

Boys

c) Teacher ____
d) Trapper ____
e) Priest ____
f) Policeman ____
g) Farmer ____
h) Salesman ____

Girls

c) Dressmaker ____
d) Nurse ____
e) Hairdresser ____
f) Housekeeper ____
g) Teacher ____
h) Store clerk ____

17. If it were possible for you to do any kind of work you wanted, what would you do?____________

18. Do you think this is ever likely to happen? Yes:____ No:____

Why? ____________

19. Of these things, which do you think will be the most important thing about working?
(check one)

a) making money ____
b) doing something useful ____
c) keeping busy ____
d) being with other people ____
e) making a living ____
f) anything else? ____

20. When you look for a job when you finish school, will you look for a job (check one)

a) on the Reservation ____________

b) near the Reservation ____________

c) in a larger town or city ____________

d) wherever it is easiest to find work ____________

21. When you choose a job, would you like to work (check one)

a) with Indians ____________

b) with white people ____________

c) with both ____________

d) it doesn't make any difference ____________

22. While you are at the Residential School do you:
(check one of these columns for a), b), c), and d).)
(For example: Frequently Seldom Never)
(While at the Residential)
(school, do you stay up)
(all night ______ ______ __✓__)

	FREQUENTLY	SELDOM	NEVER
a) play on a school team	______	______	______
b) play somewhere in town	______	______	______
c) belong to clubs at school	______	______	______
d) spend time in town in stores, restaurants, etc.	______	______	______

23. What things would you like to do more than you are doing now? ______________________________

____

24. Are most of your friends

a) at the Residential School ____

b) back on the Reserve ____

c) in the town ____

25. a) Where do you usually go for amusements? ______________

____

b) Who do you go with? ______________________________

26. Do most of your relatives or adult friends live

a) on the Reserve ____

b) near the Reserve ____

c) in town ____

27. Do not answer if you are a day student.

If you live in Residential School

a) How often do you visit with your parents at the Reserve during the school year

a) often ____

b) sometimes ____

c) only about once or twice a year ____

b) How often do they visit you at the School

a) often ________

b) sometimes ________

c) only about once or twice a year ________

c) How often would you like them to visit? ________________

28. What do you admire most about:
(check one column for parents, friends, teachers)
(For example:)

(	Kindness	Leader-ship	Ability to make money	Education)
(a) your friends	________	______	______	✓)

	Kindness	Leadership	Ability to make money	Education
a) your parents	________	________	________	________
b) your friends	________	________	________	________
c) your teachers	________	________	________	________

29. The Residential School has taught you many things. What do you think will be the most helpful when you finish school? ________________________________

30. a) What would you say are some of the biggest problems that you face in school? ________________________

____

____

b) What are the biggest problems Indians face in earning a living? ________________________

____

____

19. Father's education

(1) Number of Years:

Less than Grade 8 ________

Grade 8 ________

Some High School ________

Finished High School ________

More than High School ________

(2) Type of school where most education received:

Residential ________

Indian day ________

Integrated ________

20. Father's occupation now (record job) ____________________

Code: Farming ________

Unskilled (e.g. bush, trapping, mining, fishing) ________

Semi-skilled (e.g. trucking, construction) ________

Skilled, technical ________

Professional ________

Unemployed ________

Deceased ________

Don't know ________

21. Mother's education

(1) Number of years:

Less than Grade 8 ______

Grade 8 ______

Some High School ______

Finished High School ______

More than High School ______

(2) Type of school where most education received:

Residential ______

Indian day ______

Integrated ______

22. Mother's occupation now (record job) ____________________

Code: At home (no job) ______

Unskilled ______

Semi-skilled ______

Skilled, technical ______

Professional ______

Deceased ______

Don't know ______

23. Number of brothers and sisters?

No.	Sex	Age	School Type	Grades completed
1.				
2.				
3.				
4.				
5.				

Code: a) Predominant school type: Residential ________

Integrated ________

b) Highest grade completed by a brother ________

Highest grade completed by a sister ________

APPENDIX 3

GRADUATES INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

(Circle appropriate Code number)

		Code	Column
1. Name ________________________			1, 2
2. Address ________________________			
3. Location now:	- City ________	1	3
	Reserve ________	2	
4. If in city, name of Home Reserve ____________			
5. Sex:	- Male ________	1	5
	Female ________	2	
6. Age ________ (post code)			6, 7
7. Religion:	- Roman Catholic ______	1	8
	Anglican ______	2	
	Other(specify) ______	3	
	No religion ______	4	
8. Marital Status:	- Single ______	1	9
	Married ______	2	
	Divorced ______	3	
	Widowed ______	4	
	Deserted ______	5	

			Code	Column
9. Number od dependent children (code total number)		______		10
10. Parents living now:	- Reserve	______	1	11
	Rural	______	2	
	Town	______	3	
	City	______	4	
11. Did your father attend:	- Residential school	______	1	12
	Integrated school	______	2	
	Both	______	3	
	Neither	______	4	
12. Did your mother attend:	- Residential school	______	1	13
	Integrated school	______	2	
	Both	______	3	
	Neither	______	4	

13. School Record:

School type	Number of grades completed	Average number of school weeks missed per year	Reasons for admission
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			
5.			

			Code	Column
Code: a) Type of pupil while at school:	Residential	____	1	14
	Day	____	2	
	Integrated	____	3	
b) Reason for first admission -	Education	____	1	15
	Welfare	____	2	
	Other (specify)	____	3	
c) Other school types attended -	Integrated (community)	____	1	16
	Indian Day	____	2	
d) Total number of years at school (post code)		____		17
e) Last grade completed (record exact grade)		____		
Interviewer code:	Under Grade 8	____	1	18
	Grade 8	____	2	
	Some High School	____	3	
	Finished High School	____	4	
	More than High School	____	5	
f) Attendance regularity - average time missed per year	Only a few days	____	1	19
	Less than 6 weeks	____	2	
	Over 6 weeks	____	3	
	Several months	____	4	

			Code	Colum
14. Why did you leave school when you did? (mark one)	Finished High School	____	1	20
	No further schooling available	____	2	
	Asked to leave, behaviour problem or didn't like school	____	3	
	Health	____	4	
	Financial and Family	____	5	
	Other (specify)	____	6	
15. How far did your parents want you to go in school? (mark one)	As far as you went	____	1	21
	Farther	____	2	
	Don't know	____	3	
16. a) How far did your father go in school?	Less than Grade 8	____	1	22
	Grade 8	____	2	
	Some High School	____	3	
	Finished High School	____	4	
	More than High School	____	5	
b) How far did your mother go in school?	Less than Grade 8	____	1	23
	Grade 8	____	2	
	Some High School	____	3	
	Finished High School	____	4	
	More than High School	____	5	

			Code	Column
17. If you had it to do over again would you want to go to a -	Residential School	______	1	24
	Integrated School	______	2	
	Indian Day School	______	3	
18. Which type of school will you want to send your children to?	Residential	______	1	25
	Integrated	______	2	
	Indian Day	______	3	
Why? (probe for what they think are the benefits of the school type they choose; the disadvantages of those they reject)				26

____

____

			Code	Column
19. The year you left school, did you -	Work around house	______	1	27
	Get a job around the Reserve or in the country	______	2	
	Get a job in town	______	3	
	Live in town, but have no job	______	4	
	Take further training	______	5	
	Other (specify)	______	6	

20. What have you done since?

a)

Job Name (Probe for precise kind of job)	Location	Length of Employment

					Code	Column
b)	How much of the time have you been unemployed altogether since you graduated?					
			Less than a quarter of the time	________	1	28
			About a quarter to half the time	________	2	
			Over half the time	________	3	
			All the time	________	4	
21.	Which of the following would you consider a good job? (mark one)					29
	Ask Men the Following:		Ask Women the Following:			
	Truck driver	________	Typist	________	1	
	Fishing guide	________	Mother	________	2	
	Teacher	________	Dressmaker	________	3	
	Trapper	________	Nurse	________	4	
	Priest	________	Hairdresser	________	5	
	Policeman	________	Housekeeper	________	6	
	Farmer	________	Teacher	________	7	
	Salesman	________	Store Clerk	________	8	
22.	a) Who do you work for now? (name of the company)			________		30
	b) How would you describe your job?			________		
23.	Where is it located?		- In town	________	1	31
			In city	________	2	
			On Reserve	________	3	
			Other rural	________	4	

		Code	**Column**
24. What kind of work do you think you will be doing in the next five years? (probe for type of job, level of responsibility, income, people they will work with, etc.)			
____________________			32
25. a) If it were possible for you to do any kind of work you wanted, what would you do? ____________			33
____________________			
____________________			
b) Why? ____________________			34
____________________			
26. a) Do you think this is ever likely to happen?	Yes ____	1	35
	No ____	2	
b) Why? (probe for ideas about what holds Indians back, or what the factors are that are important for success)			
____________________			
____________________			36
27. What did your parents want you to be? ____________			37
28. Of the following things which is most important about working? (mark only one)			38
	Making money ____	1	
	Doing something useful ____	2	
	Keeping busy ____	3	
	Being with other people ____	4	
	Making a living ____	5	
	Other ____	6	

		Code	Column
29. What would you say are some of the major problems faced by Indians today?			
a) In relation to school ______ ______ ______			39
b) In relation to work ______ ______ ______			40
c) Other ______ ______ ______			41
30. a) Do you think the Residential School prepares you well to live among	- Indians ______	1	42
	Whites ______	2	
	Both ______	3	
	Neither ______	4	
b) Why? ______ ______			43
31. a) Do you think the schools could be improved through more emphasis on	- Indian culture ____	1	
	Job training ____	2	
	Academic work ____	3	
	Other (specify)____	4	

Question	Response		Code	Column
b) Why? ____________________ ____________________				45
c) Expand on your choice by suggestions for improvements _ ____________________ ____________________				46
32. When choosing a job, would you rather work with -				
	Indians	______	1	47
	Whites	______	2	
	Both	______	3	
	Doesn't make any difference	______	4	
33. Who do you work with mostly?	Indians	______	1	48
	Whites	______	2	
	Both	______	3	
34. Who are the people you see most informally?				
	Indians	______	1	49
	Whites	______	2	
	Both	______	3	
35. Where do you go with your friends for recreation? ______ ____________________				50
36. Do you think this situation will change? i.e. would you like to have more white friends, white activities - fewer white friends, white activities ? ______ ____________________				51
Explain ____________________				52

37. It is very important to consider where you will have to live when choosing a job. If you had a free choice, would you rather -

		Code	Column
Live on the Reserve	________	1	53
In the city or town	________	2	
Live where there is the most interesting job	________	3	
Other (specify)	________	4	

38. a) Where do you think you will eventually live?

		Code	Column
In the city or town	________	1	54
On the Reserve	________	2	

b) Why? ____ 55

____

APPENDIX 4

CHILD'S DATA SHEET

		Code	Column
1. Child's name: ________			1 - 3
2. Sex, Male: ________		1	
Female: ________		2	4
3. Name of home Reservation ________			5
4. Distance of school from home reserve (recorded in miles)			6
	1 - 25 miles ________	1	
	50 - 100 ________	2	
	100 - ________	3	
5. School name: ________			7
6. School attended:	Residential only ________	1	8
	Residential/day ________	2	
	Residential/ integrated ________	3	
	Residential/day/ integrated ________	4	
7. Pupil type:	Residential/residential for education ________	1	9
	Residential/integrated for education ________	2	
	Day/residential for education ________	3	

			Code	Column
8. a) Age _______ Code age/grade level _______				10 - 11
b) Higher age/grade level than age/grade norm		_______	1	
Lower age/grade level than age/grade norm		_______	2	
Same age/grade level than age/grade norm		_______	3	
9. Class compostion:	Segregated	_______	1	13
	Co-ed	_______	2	
10. Number of grades per room -	One	_______	1	14
	Two	_______	2	
	Three or more	_______	3	
11. Teacher/pupil ratio -	Over 30	1_______	1	15
	20 - 30	1_______	2	
	20 -	1_______	3	
12. Child's course -	Academic	_______	1	16
	Academic and vocational	_______	2	

13. a) School Record:

School Type	First In		Last Out		Reasons for leaving
	Grade	Date	Grade	Date	
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					

		Code	Column
Code b) Number of previous schools attended - none	________	1	17
1 - 2	________	2	
3 - 4	________	3	
c) Number of years all schools attended by type			
Residential	________	1	18
Integrated	________	2	
d) Reasons for changing schools			
Family moved	________	1	19
No further schooling	________	2	
Behaviour problem	________	3	
14. Attendance regularity; average time missed per year			
Only a few days	________	1	20
Less than 6 weeks	________	2	
Over 6 weeks	________	3	
Several months	________	4	
15. Usual time spent in Indian home per year			
Over 4 months	________	1	21
1 - 4 months	________	2	
Less than 1 month	________	3	
0	________	4	

		Code	Column
16. Reasons for admission to this school			
Broken home	____________	1	22
Poverty - home with poor conditions	____________	2	
Educational needs - no other school	____________	3	
Parents' desire	____________	4	
Personal emotional needs	____________	5	
Other	____________	6	
17. Child's health			
a) Number of days school missed through illness in last year			
5 or less	____________	1	23
6 - 15	____________	2	
16 - 30	____________	3	
Over 30	____________	4	
b) Unusual health problems			
Chronic	____________	1	24
Acute	____________	2	
No problems	____________	3	
c) Emotional problems			
Severe	____________	1	25
Modest	____________	2	
Not noticeable	____________	3	

Family Background

18. Where is child's father living now?			
Reserve	____________	1	26
City or town	____________	2	
Deceased	____________	3	

APPENDIX 5

SELECTED DATA ANALYSED BY SEX, AGE, PUPIL TYPE 1)

DATA IS PRESENTED IN PERCENTAGE FORM
ACTUAL NUMBERS ARE BRACKETED ABOVE
THE PERCENTAGES

1. Educational Aspirations

	M O R	F O R	M Y R	F Y R	M O I	F O I	M Y I	F Y I	M O D	F O D	M Y D	F Y D 2)	
	(2)	(5)	(4)	(4)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(0)	(22)
Until 16	3.0	7.7	13.3	8.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.5	10.0	18.8	0.0	
	(7)	(4)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(22)
Grade 8	10.6	6.2	13.3	6.3	6.7	0.0	6.7	0.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	(19)	(6)	(4)	(7)	(6)	(5)	(1)	(0)	(4)	(7)	(3)	(5)	(67)
Finish High School	28.8	9.2	13.3	14.6	20.0	29.4	6.7	0.0	21.1	35.0	18.8	33.3	
	(18)	(19)	(2)	(13)	(9)	(1)	(7)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(4)	(6)	(91)
College	27.3	29.2	6.7	27.1	30.0	5.9	46.7	38.5	21.1	15.0	25.0	40.0	
	(19)	(30)	(16)	(21)	(13)	(11)	(6)	(8)	(8)	(8)	(6)	(4)	(150)
Extra job training	28.8	46.2	53.3	43.8	43.3	64.7	40.0	61.5	42.1	40.0	37.5	26.7	
	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(2)
"Don't know	1.5	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Total	(66)	(65)	(30)	(48)	(30)	(17)	(15)	(13)	(19)	(20)	(16)	(15)	(354)
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

2. Father's Education Evaluated by Children

	M O R	F O R	M Y R	F Y R	M O I	F O I	M Y I	F Y I	M O D	F O D	M Y D	F Y D	
	(21)	(13)	(2)	(12)	(11)	(2)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(5)	(7)	(6)	(88)
more than I need	31.8	20.0	6.7	25.0	36.7	11.8	26.7	23.1	10.5	25.0	43.8	40.0	
	(8)	(10)	(14)	(14)	(1)	(0)	(4)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(63)
same as I need	12.1	15.4	46.7	29.2	3.3	0.0	26.7	15.4	10.5	15.0	25.0	6.7	
	(34)	(33)	(12)	(18)	(15)	(13)	(5)	(4)	(13)	(11)	(5)	(8)	(171)
not as good as I need	51.5	50.8	40.0	37.5	50.0	76.5	33.3	30.8	68.4	55.0	31.3	53.3	
	(3)	(9)	(2)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(4)	(2)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(32)
"don't know"	4.5	13.8	6.7	8.3	10.0	11.8	13.3	30.8	10.6	5.0	0.0	0.0	
Total	(66)	(65)	(30)	(48)	(30)	(17)	(15)	(13)	(19)	(20)	(16)	(15)	(354)
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

3. Father's Occupation

	M O R	F O R	M Y R	F Y R	M O I	F O I	M Y I	F Y I	M O D	F O D	M Y D	F Y D	
(Indian) unskilled	(12) 18.2	(6) 9.2	(1) 3.3	(2) 4.2	(3) 10.0	(3) 17.6	(4) 26.7	(2) 15.4	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(33)
(white) unskilled	(27) 40.9	(24) 36.9	(17) 56.7	(13) 27.1	(14) 46.7	(6) 35.3	(4) 26.7	(7) 53.8	(8) 42.1	(13) 62.5	(10) 62.5	(8) 53.3	(151)
Semi-skilled	(7) 10.6	(3) 4.6	(2) 6.7	(1) 2.1	(2) 6.7	(0) 0.0	(2) 13.3	(1) 7.7	(2) 10.5	(1) 5.0	(1) 6.3	(3) 20.0	(25)
Service	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(1) 3.3	(1) 2.1	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(1) 6.3	(0) 0.0	(3)
Semi-professional	(1) 1.5	(1) 1.5	(0) 0.0	(1) 2.1	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(1) 6.7	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(4)
Unemployed	(1) 1.5	(2) 3.1	(0) 0.0	(3) 6.3	(1) 3.3	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(2) 10.5	(2) 10.0	(2) 12.5	(1) 6.7	(14)
No father	(7) 10.6	(10) 15.4	(5) 16.7	(12) 25.0	(8) 26.7	(6) 35.3	(4) 26.7	(3) 23.1	(2) 10.5	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(1) 6.7	(58)
"Don'tknow"	(11) 16.7	(19) 29.2	(4) 13.3	(15) 31.3	(2) 6.7	(2) 11.8	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(5) 26.3	(4) 20.0	(2) 12.6	(2) 13.3	(66)
Total	(66) 100.0	(65) 100.0	(30) 100.0	(48) 100.0	(30) 100.0	(17) 100.0	(15) 100.0	(13) 100.0	(19) 100.0	(20) 100.0	(16) 100.0	(15) 100.0	(354)

4. Occupational Aspirations

	M O R	F O R	M Y R	F Y R	M O I	F O I	M Y I	F Y I	M O D	F O D	M Y D	F Y D	
Indian-type Jobs	(3) 4.5	(0) 0.0	(1) 3.3	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(5) 33.3	(0) 0.0	(1) 5.3	(0) 0.0	(1) 6.3	(0) 0.0	(11)
white Unskilled	(11) 16.7	(2) 3.1	(6) 20.0	(0) 0.0	(5) 16.7	(1) 5.9	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(1) 5.3	(2) 10.0	(7) 43.8	(0) 0.0	(35)
Semi-skilled	(8) 12.1	(2) 3.1	(7) 23.3	(0) 0.0	(7) 23.3	(0) 0.0	(2) 13.3	(0) 0.0	(10) 52.6	(2) 10.0	(2) 12.5	(1) 6.7	(41)
Service	(19) 28.8	(16) 24.6	(9) 30.0	(13) 27.1	(4) 13.3	(2) 11.8	(4) 26.7	(5) 38.5	(3) 15.8	(5) 25.0	(3) 18.8	(4) 26.7	(87)
Semi-prof.	(12) 18.2	(38) 58.5	(0) 0.0	(22) 45.8	(9) 30.0	(14) 82.4	(3) 20.0	(8) 61.5	(4) 21.1	(7) 35.0	(3) 18.8	(10) 66.7	(130)
"Don't know"	(13) 19.7	(7) 10.8	(7) 23.3	(13) 27.2	(5) 16.7	(0) 0.0	(1) 6.7	(0) 0.0	(4) 0.0	(0) 20.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(50)
Total	(66) 100.0	(65) 100.0	(30) 100.0	(48) 100.0	(30) 100.0	(17) 100.0	(15) 100.0	(13) 100.0	(19) 100.0	(20) 100.0	(16) 100.0	(15) 100.0	(354)

5. Expectations about Ideal Job: Reasons for positive expectations

	M O R	F O R	M Y R	F Y R	M O I	F O I	M Y I	F Y I	M O D	F O D	M Y D	F Y D	
Self-confidence	(19)	(26)	(6)	(13)	(9)	(5)	(4)	(3)	(6)	(6)	(4)	(3)	(104)
	28.8	40.0	20.0	27.1	30.0	29.4	26.7	23.1	31.6	30.0	25.0	20.0	
Tradition	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(4)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(9)
	3.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	26.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.5	0.0	
Level of Education	(14)	(10)	(4)	(10)	(7)	(4)	(2)	(5)	(7)	(4)	(3)	(8)	(78)
	21.2	15.4	13.3	20.8	23.3	23.5	13.3	38.5	36.8	20.0	18.8	53.3	
Parental support	(2)	(1)	(0)	(2)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(2)	(2)	(0)	(12)
	3.0	1.5	0.0	4.2	3.3	0.0	6.7	7.7	0.0	10.0	12.5	0.0	
Job opportunities	(3)	(2)	(0)	(2)	(1)	(3)	(2)	(0)	(3)	(1)	(2)	(0)	(19)
	4.5	3.1	0.0	4.2	3.3	17.6	13.3	0.0	15.8	5.0	12.5	0.0	
Other	(1)	(1)							(1)				(3)
	1.5	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Negative expectations	(18)	(23)	(10)	(13)	(7)	(4)	(2)	(4)	(1)	(5)	(2)	(4)	(93)
	27.3	35.4	33.3	27.1	23.3	23.5	13.3	30.8	5.3	25.0	12.5	26.7	
"Don't know"	(7)	(2)	(10)	(8)	(4)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(2)	(1)		(36)
	10.6	3.1	33.3	16.7	13.3	5.9	0.0	0.0	5.3	10.0	6.3	0.0	
	(66)	(65)	(30)	(48)	(30)	(17)	(15)	(13)	(19)	(20)	(16)	(15)	(354)
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

6. Expectations about Ideal Job: Reason for negative expectations

	M O R	F O R	M Y R	F Y R	M O I	F O I	M Y I	F Y I	M O D	F O D	M Y D	F Y D	
	(6)	(10)	(3)	(2)	(3)		(2)	(1)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(2)	(31)
Self-confidence	9.1	15.4	10.0	4.2	10.0	0.0	13.3	7.7	0.0	10.0	0.0	13.3	
	(4)	(5)	(2)	(4)	(3)	(3)	(0)	(2)	(1)	(2)			(26)
Level of Education	6.1	7.7	6.7	8.3	10.0	17.6	0.0	15.4	5.0	10.0	0.0	0.0	
	(1)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(4)
Parents' support	1.5	1.5	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.3	0.0	
	(2)	(1)	(3)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(11)
Job opportunities	3.0	1.5	10.0	2.1	3.3	0.0	0.0	7.7	0.0	0.0	6.3	6.7	
	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)
Discrimination	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	(1)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(5)
Others	1.5	1.5	3.3	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	(46)	(42)	(13)	(32)	(22)	(13)	(13)	(9)	(18)	(14)	(13)	(12)	(247)
Positive expectations	69.7	64.6	43.3	66.7	73.3	76.5	86.7	69.2	95.0	70.0	81.3	80.0	
	(6)	(5)	(7)	(6)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(1)	(0)	(29)
"Don't know"	9.1	7.7	23.3	12.5	3.3	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.0	6.3	0.0	
Total	(66)	(65)	(30)	(48)	(30)	(17)	(15)	(13)	(19)	(20)	(16)	(15)	(354)
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

7. Important Thing About Working

	M O R	F O R	M Y R	F Y R	M O I	F O I	M Y I	F Y I	M O D	F O D	M Y D	F Y D	
Making money	(7)	(5)	(5)	(5)	(4)	(1)	(2)	(2)	(3)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(35)
	10.6	7.7	16.7	10.4	13.3	5.9	13.3	15.4	15.8	0.0	0.0	6.7	
Doing something useful	(10)	(13)	(6)	(7)	(4)	(6)	(1)	(4)	(4)	(5)	(1)	(4)	(65)
	15.2	20.0	20.0	14.6	13.3	35.3	6.7	30.8	21.1	25.0	6.3	26.7	
Keeping busy	(2)	(4)	(1)	(9)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(0)	(22)
	3.0	6.2	3.3	18.8	0.0	0.0	13.3	0.0	5.3	10.0	6.3	0.0	
Being with others	(5)	(10)	(0)	(6)	(5)	(4)	(0)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(0)	(1)	(43)
	7.6	15.4	0.0	12.5	16.7	23.5	0.0	23.1	21.1	25.0	0.0	6.7	
Making a living	(40)	(28)	(18)	(20)	(15)	(6)	(10)	(4)	(7)	(7)	(14)	(9)	(178)
	60.6	43.1	60.0	41.7	50.0	35.3	66.7	30.8	36.8	35.0	87.5	60.0	
Other	(1)	(4)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(7)
	1.5	6.2	0.0	2.1	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
"Don't know"	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(4)
	1.5	1.5	0.0	0.0	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	
Total	(66)	(65)	(30)	(48)	(30)	(17)	(15)	(13)	(19)	(20)	(16)	(15)	(354)
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

8. Preference for Future Job Location

	MOR	FOR	MYR	FYR	MOI	FOI	MYI	FYI	MOD	FOD	MYD	FYD	
On reserve	(3) 4.5	(3) 4.6	(2) 6.7	(3) 6.3	(2) 6.7	(2) 11.8	(2) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(1) 6.3	(0) 0.0	(16)
Near reserve	(6) 9.1	(3) 4.6	(3) 10.0	(4) 8.3	(1) 3.3	(3) 17.6	(3) 20.0	(3) 23.1	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(4) 25.0	(1) 6.7	(31)
Large town or city	(39) 59.1	(39) 60.0	(16) 53.3	(31) 64.6	(17) 56.7	(7) 41.2	(7) 46.7	(8) 61.5	(11) 57.9	(12) 60.0	(7) 43.8	(9) 60.0	(203)
Where easier to find work	(18) 27.3	(20) 30.8	(8) 26.7	(10) 20.8	(10) 33.3	(4) 23.5	(5) 33.3	(2) 15.4	(8) 42.1	(8) 40.0	(4) 25.0	(5) 33.3	(102)
"Dont'know"	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(1) 3.3	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(1) 5.9	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(2)
Total	(66) 100.0	(65) 100.0	(30) 100.0	(48) 100.0	(30) 100.0	(17) 100.0	(15) 100.0	(13) 100.0	(19) 100.0	(20) 100.0	(16) 100.0	(15) 100.0	(354)

9. Things You Would Like to Do More Often

	MOR	FOR	MYR	FYR	MOI	FOI	MYI	FYI	MOD	FOD	MYD	FYD	
More active at school	(26) 39.4	(19) 29.2	(9) 30.0	(18) 37.5	(8) 26.7	(6) 35.3	(4) 26.7	(4) 30.8	(6) 31.6	(8) 40.0	(1) 6.3	(6) 40.0	(115)
More unsupervised time	(13) 19.7	(9) 13.9	(9) 30.0	(6) 12.3	(4) 13.4	(2) 11.8	(7) 46.7	(3) 23.1	(8) 42.2	(5) 25.0	(8) 50.1	(2) 13.4	(76)
More educational opportunities	(12) 18.2	(13) 20.0	(2) 6.7	(5) 10.4	(5) 16.7	(4) 23.5	(2) 13.3	(3) 23.1	(1) 5.3	(1) 5.0	(2) 12.5	(0) 0.0	(50)
Mentions work	(7) 10.6	(8) 12.3	(4) 13.3	(6) 12.5	(6) 20.0	(3) 17.6	(1) 6.7	(1) 7.7	(1) 5.3	(2) 10.0	(3) 18.8	(1) 6.7	(43)
More involvement in white town	(3) 4.5	(2) 3.1	(2) 6.7	(5) 10.4	(1) 3.3	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(1) 6.7	(14)
Satisfied	(1) 1.5	(2) 3.1	(0) 0.0	(1) 2.1	(1) 3.3	(1) 5.9	(0) 6.7	(1) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(7)
Other	(3) 4.5	(6) 9.2	(0) 0.0	(1) 2.1	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(1) 7.7	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(11)
"Don't know"	(1) 1.5	(6) 9.2	(4) 13.3	(6) 12.5	(5) 16.7	(1) 5.9	(0) 0.0	(1) 7.7	(3) 15.8	(4) 20.0	(2) 12.5	(5) 33.3	(38)
Total	(66) 100.0	(65) 100.0	(30) 100.0	(48) 100.0	(30) 100.0	(17) 100.0	(15) 100.0	(13) 100.0	(19) 100.0	(20) 100.0	(16) 100.0	(15) 100.0	(354)

10. Location of the Children's Friends

	M O R	F O R	M Y R	F Y R	M O I	F O I	M Y I	F Y I	M O D	F O D	M Y D	F Y D	
In Residential School	(26)	(34)	(13)	(25)	(15)	(10)	(4)	(8)	(3)	(9)	(8)	(8)	(163)
	39.4	52.3	43.3	52.1	50.0	58.8	26.7	61.5	15.8	45.0	50.0	53.3	
On Reserve	(33)	(27)	(14)	(21)	(10)	(5)	(10)	(4)	(14)	(11)	(7)	(6)	(162)
	50.0	41.5	46.7	43.8	33.3	29.4	66.7	30.8	73.7	55.0	43.8	40.0	
In Town	(5)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(20)
	7.6	3.1	10.0	4.2	3.3	5.9	6.7	7.7	10.5	0.0	6.3	6.7	
"Don't know"	(2)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(4)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(9)
	3.0	3.1	0.0	0.0	13.3	5.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
Total	(66)	(65)	(30)	(48)	(30)	(17)	(15)	(13)	(19)	(20)	(16)	(15)	(354)
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

11. Desire for Parents' Visits as Compared to Actual Visits - (70 Day students omitted this question)

	MOR	FOR	MYR	FYR	MOI	FOI	MYI	FYI	
	(31)	(30)	(20)	(27)	(12)	(11)	(8)	(8)	(147)
Much more	47.0	46.2	66.7	56.3	40.0	64.7	53.3	61.5	
	(6)	(10)	(1)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(23)
Little more	9.1	15.4	3.3	4.2	6.7	5.9	6.7	0.0	
	(20)	(14)	(8)	(13)	(8)	(2)	(6)	(4)	(75)
No more	30.3	21.5	26.7	27.1	26.7	11.8	40.0	30.8	
	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(3)
Never	1.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.3	5.9	0.0	0.0	
	(3)	(5)	(0)	(2)	(3)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(13)
No parents	4.5	7.7	0.0	4.2	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	(5)	(6)	(1)	(4)	(4)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(23)
"Don't know"	7.6	9.2	3.3	8.3	13.3	11.8	0.0	7.7	
Total	(66)	(65)	(30)	(48)	(30)	(17)	(15)	(13)	(284)
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

12. What the Children Feel the Residential School has Taught Them

	MOR	FOR	MYR	FYR	MOI	FOI	MYI	FYI	MOD	FOD	MYD	FYD	
	(23)	(19)	(13)	(14)	(6)	(5)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(10)	(7)	(2)	(114)
Education	34.8	29.2	43.3	29.2	20.0	29.4	26.7	38.5	31.6	50.0	43.8	13.3	
Manners - Social Skills	(16)	(16)	(7)	(12)	(7)	(5)	(3)	(1)	(4)	(5)	(3)	(4)	(83)
	24.2	24.6	23.3	25.0	23.3	29.4	20.0	7.7	21.1	25.0	18.8	26.7	
	(3)	(2)	(0)	(1)	(3)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(10)
Leadership	4.5	3.1	0.0	2.1	10.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	(5)	(6)	(0)	(3)	(5)	(1)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(22)
Discipline	7.6	9.2	0.0	6.3	16.7	5.9	0.0	15.4	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	(4)	(3)	(0)	(4)	(2)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(0)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(26)
Responsibility	6.1	4.6	0.0	8.3	6.7	17.6	13.3	23.1	0.0	10.0	6.3	13.3	
Preparation for work (technical)	(8)	(8)	(3)	(7)	(2)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(5)	(46)
	12.1	12.3	10.0	14.6	6.7	5.9	13.3	7.7	21.1	15.0	12.5	33.3	
	(2)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(6)
Religious training	3.0	0.0	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.3	0.0	6.3	0.0	
General dissatisfaction	(0)	(2)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(3)
	0.0	3.1	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	(5)	(9)	(4)	(7)	(5)	(2)	(4)	(1)	(3)	(0)	(2)	(2)	(44)
"Don't know"	7.6	13.8	13.3	14.6	16.7	11.8	26.7	7.7	15.8	0.0	12.5	13.3	
Total	(66)	(65)	(30)	(48)	(30)	(17)	(15)	(13)	(19)	(20)	(16)	(15)	(354)
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

13. Children's Perception of their Problems in School

	M O R	F O R	M Y R	F Y R	M O I	F O I	M Y I	F Y I	M O D	F O D	M Y D	F Y D	
Academic	(17)	(19)	(7)	(11)	(11)	(2)	(9)	(8)	(6)	(8)	(7)	(3)	(108)
	25.8	29.2	23.3	22.9	36.7	11.8	60.0	61.5	31.6	40.0	43.8	20.0	
Restrictions of the System	(19)	(17)	(10)	(12)	(9)	(2)	(2)	(0)	(4)	(5)	(2)	(3)	(85)
	28.8	26.2	33.3	25.0	30.0	11.8	13.3	0.0	21.1	25.0	12.5	20.0	
Personal inadequacies	(4)	(4)	(0)	(4)	(3)	(1)	(1)	(0)	(1)	(0)	(2)	(0)	(20)
	6.1	6.2	0.0	8.3	10.0	5.9	6.7	0.0	5.3	0.0	12.5	0.0	
Pupil relations	(9)	(7)	(3)	(7)	(1)	(10)	(1)	(4)	(1)	(3)	(4)	(4)	(54)
	13.6	10.8	10.0	14.6	3.3	58.8	6.7	30.8	5.3	15.0	25.0	26.7	
Isolation from Reserve	(2)	(5)	(1)	(2)	(1)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(11)
	3.0	7.7	3.3	4.2	3.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
No problems perceived	(3)	(4)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(0)	(0)	(0)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(1)	(20)
	4.5	6.2	10.0	4.2	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	10.5	10.0	6.3	6.7	
"Don't know"	(12)	(9)	(6)	(10)	(3)	(2)	(2)	(1)	(5)	(2)	(0)	(4)	(56)
	18.2	13.8	20.0	20.8	10.0	11.8	13.3	7.7	26.3	10.0	0.0	26.7	
Total	(66)	(65)	(30)	(48)	(30)	(17)	(15)	(13)	(19)	(20)	(16)	(15)	(354)
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	

14. Children's Perception of Indians' Problems in Earning a Living

	M O R	F O R	M Y R	F Y R	M O I	F O I	M Y I	F Y I	M O D	F O D	M Y D	F Y D	
Lack of education	(23) 34.8	(27) 41.5	(4) 13.3	(13) 27.1	(8) 26.7	(6) 35.3	(2) 13.3	(3) 23.1	(4) 21.1	(5) 25.0	(0) 0.0	(3) 20.0	(98)
Instability in work	(1) 1.5	(5) 7.7	(0) 0.0	(2) 4.2	(2) 6.7	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(5) 25.0	(1) 6.3	(2) 13.3	(18)
Behaviour problems	(10) 15.2	(6) 9.2	(3) 10.0	(5) 10.4	(5) 16.7	(0) 0.0	(1) 6.7	(0) 0.0	(2) 10.5	(0) 0.0	(1) 6.3	(0) 0.0	(33)
Lack of job opportunities	(11) 16.7	(7) 10.8	(9) 30.0	(10) 20.8	(8) 26.7	(3) 17.6	(4) 26.7	(5) 38.5	(1) 5.3	(3) 15.0	(6) 37.5	(4) 26.7	(71)
Lack of adequate income	(7) 10.6	(6) 9.2	(7) 23.3	(7) 14.6	(1) 3.3	(0) 0.0	(3) 20.0	(3) 23.1	(6) 31.6	(2) 10.0	(4) 25.0	(3) 20.0	(49)
Discrimination	(4) 6.1	(4) 6.2	(1) 3.3	(3) 6.3	(4) 13.3	(8) 47.1	(2) 13.3	(1) 7.7	(0) 0.0	(4) 20.0	(1) 6.3	(0) 0.0	(32)
None seen	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(1) 6.3	(0) 0.0	(1)
Other	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(0) 0.0	(1) 5.3	(0) 0.0	(2) 12.5	(0) 0.0	(3)
"Don't know"	(10) 15.2	(10) 15.4	(6) 20.0	(8) 16.7	(2) 6.7	(0) 0.0	(3) 20.0	(1) 7.7	(5) 26.3	(1) 5.0	(0) 0.0	(3) 20.0	(49)
Total	(66) 100.0	(65) 100.0	(30) 100.0	(48) 100.0	(30) 100.0	(17) 100.0	(15) 100.0	(13) 100.0	(19) 100.0	(20) 100.0	(16) 100.0	(15) 100.0	(354)

CODE TO PRECEDING TABLES

1)

AGE:

Young . . . 13 and under   Old . . . over 13

PUPIL TYPE:

Residential . . . for education and residence

Integrated . . . community school for education, residential school for living

Day . . . residential school for education, but reside at home nearby

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2)

SYMBOLS:

M - male   F - female   Y - young   O - old

R - residential pupil type

I - integrated pupil type

D - day pupil type